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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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1 October 1984

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**POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS**

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INTERNATIONAL

KU KLUX KLAN, AMERICAN NAZI PARTY SAID TO BACK REAGAN

LD031058 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 3 Sep 84

[Text] New York September 3 TASS--TASS correspondent Maxim Knyazkov reports:

The American racists, neonazis and members of other ultrareactionary organizations consider U.S. President Reagan to be "their candidate" at the upcoming elections.

According to a report in the newspaper DAILY WORLD, Ku Klux Klan cut-throats, groups of the Councils of White Citizens and of the American Nazi Party openly operating in Mississippi State have launched there a large-scale campaign for a "registration of the electors" in favour of the Republican candidate. The campaign is headed by R. Barret, one of the reaction chiefs, who, following the theory of the "Third Reich" leaders, divides all Americans into people of higher and lower races and declares for "clearing" North America from blacks and coloured. In the opinion of that neofascist there can be no better candidate for presidency among the real candidates running at the elections.

The racist campaign for the "registration of electors" in Mississippi does not meet with objections from the local leaders of the "Reagan-Bush-84" election committee. Answering the question of a DAILY WORLD correspondent whether the Republicans wish to dissociate themselves from the Ku Klux Klan activities, K. Hendrik, chairman of the committee's branch in the state, said that he did not wish to discuss that issue. The underlying motives of this stand have been exposed by G. Karsky, senator of the legislative assembly of Mississippi. The Republican Party and its election committee, he said in an interview, will never dissociate themselves from Barret and Ku Klux Klan, as the latter advocates practically the same things as the Republicans.

It is not for the first time in recent months that the American Nazis have openly declared their support at the upcoming elections for Reagan. Addressing a reactionary assembly in Georgia state in April this year, Wilkinson, one of the Ku Klux Klan chiefs, bluntly said that his klan was totally behind Reagan. When we see that the blacks and other minorities are rallied against one person, he stressed, it means that he is doing something good for the white race.... Many elements of the Republican programme fully accord with the ideas of the klan.

CSO: 1812/273

INTERNATIONAL

FERRARO CRITIQUE OF REAGAN ON ARMS CONTROL REPORTED

LD020109 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 1 Sep 84

[Text] Washington September 1 TASS--Geraldine Ferraro, running for vice presidency from the Democratic Party, said that the current President of the United States is responsible for the failure of all arms limitation talks. In her election speech, Geraldine Ferraro said that the election of Ronald Reagan for a second term in the White House would increase the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war, as Reagan would not have to take care of his next re-election.

Over the past four years, G. Ferraro continued, tensions in relations with Russia have increased. It is apt to ask, what is going to happen within the next four years, what is going to happen to our children and grandchildren. The United States needs a paresident, she emphasised, who would address proposals rather than insults to the Soviet Union.

Touching upon the idea advocated by the Republican administration that rearmament of America allegedly strengthens peace, she said that the arms race by no means leads to peace. It leads only to further arms race. Geraldine Ferraro also touched upon "American patriotism," the favourite propaganda pet-subject of the Republicans. In her opinion, most of the Americans reject the kind of selfish patriotism forced on them by advertising agencies in Madison Avenue in New York. When we, at last, put a stop to the arms race, that will be a truly patriotic act, she said.

CSO: 1812/273

INTERNATIONAL

TWO PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT FOR THIRD WORLD STATES DESCRIBED

AU311000 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 8, Aug 84 (signed to Press 19 Jul 84) pp 47-57

[Article by G. Kim, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Topical Problems of the National Liberation Movement"--words capitalized published in boldface in original]

[Text] The eighties are characterized by a sharp rise in the temperature of the tense clash between the two systems and by new attempts on the part of imperialism to take revenge for the sociopolitical losses of the preceding decade. Despite the seeming heterogeneity of phenomena of the seventies, such as the vital strengthening of the forces of socialism in Indochina, anti-imperialist revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua, and the intensifying of progressive trends in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the results of the recent past must be briefly reviewed. As is well known, the seventies were marked by a further intensification of the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation. The complete and final collapse of colonialism took place in the second half of the decade. The last colonial empire of the Portuguese fell, and young, progressive African states rose in its place--Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, which chose a socialist-oriented path. The people of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) put an end to the domination of racism. Despite all the contrivances of the Republic of South Africa, that citadel of colonialism and racism in Africa, the national liberation movement in Namibia and in the Republic of South Africa itself is growing stronger and gathering force.

Consequently, summing up the last decade it is impossible not to note that the revolutionary events of these years have immense historical significance, both for the fate of the revolutionary process in the zone of national liberation and on a global scale. The seventies will occupy a special place in the annals of mankind's struggle for liberation from all forms of slavery and oppression, precisely because the social aspect of the national liberation movement manifested itself during this period most fully, sharply and convincingly. Marxists have always proceeded from the indissolubility of the tasks of national and social liberation and from their dialectical mutual connection and interaction. Nevertheless, we very clearly have a practical opportunity to trace and irrefutably prove--against the background of a whole period of historical development and taking the example of a large group of countries whose revolutionary transformation is basically taking place at the same time--

not only the very fact of the existence of such a mutual connection, but also (which is more important) the real shift of accent in the liberation struggle in favor of social liberation.

Thus, the question is one of imperialism's major defeat, which exerts a fundamental influence upon the course and, in the long-term, upon the outcome of the struggle between two social systems. Such a change in the very essence of the national liberation revolution as it develops in breadth and in depth is a fundamental and irrevocable law that was noticed and brilliantly predicted by V. I. Lenin. "...Socialist revolution," he noted, "will not only be mainly a struggle by the revolutionary proletariat in every country against their bourgeoisie. No, it will be a struggle by all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism and all dependent countries against international imperialism.... After the period of the East's awakening in contemporary revolution will come the period of participation by all the peoples of the East in deciding the fate of the whole world...." (Footnote 1) (V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 39, pp 327-8)

A most important feature of the liberated countries' sociopolitical development at the present stage is their differentiation. As early as in the fifties, the CPSU and the international communist movement thoroughly analyzed the essence and basic laws of this process, the rates of progress of which have steadily increased in every subsequent decade, and the national-specific forms and manifestations of which have become increasingly more complex and diverse. This differentiation acquired a particularly intense nature during the seventies.

Whereas at the beginning of the decade the struggle for national liberation had only begun to "PRACTICALLY DEVELOP INTO STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATIVE ATTITUDES, BOTH FEUDAL AND CAPITALIST" (Footnote 2) (Materials from the 24th CPSU Congress, POLITIZDAT, 1971, p 18), at the end of the decade the situation had fundamentally changed. There remained practically no states on the map of the developing world which had not determined their own path of development. This made it possible for the 26th CPSU Congress to draw a conclusion of great political significance: "These countries are very different. One takes a revolutionary-democratic path after liberation. Another establishes capitalist relations. Some pursue a truly independent policy while others today follow the lead of imperialism's policies." (Footnote 3) (Materials from the 26th CPSU Congress, POLITIZDAT, 1981, p 11)

Today the rapidly accelerating rates of progress of social evolution and also the extreme complexity and diversity of the tasks facing the liberated countries make the problem of choosing a path of development truly major. In the final analysis, it is precisely this problem that determines the main directions of the ideological-political struggle in the zone of national liberation and serves as a key to understanding the multitude of internal conflicts and antagonisms which periodically shake the developing world. At the same time, two, in our opinion, vital points must be made. First, it cannot be said that the process of choosing a path of development is definitively over in all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; the struggle is just beginning and the forces opposing the social progress of the young states, are, as

before, very powerful. Second, Marxist-Leninists have never believed that the diversity of the revolutionary forms of the national liberation movement can be characterized according to the principle "only forward."

[AU311004] This diversity not only does not exclude, but it also presupposes, that zigzags, deviations, and even recoils can appear in certain countries and at certain stages. The dialectics of world development are such that particular regressive phenomena can arise and (as historical experience shows) indeed do arise against the general background of social progress. This sometimes leads to a slowing down of progressive transformations in this or that country, even in a group of countries. But something else is important: As the course of the national liberation movement during the seventies and the eighties testifies, the peoples of liberated countries are increasingly and decisively rejecting contemporary neocolonialist forms of dependence imposed by imperialism and choosing a path of social progress.

The present level of sociopolitical demarcation in the developing states excludes the possibility of considering them en masse and imperatively demands a strictly differentiated approach to analysis of the problems of their development. It is accepted to single out two main groups of countries: young states following a socialist oriented course and developing countries which have embarked upon the path of capitalism. However, this classification would not be complete if one fails to take into account another small group, which should include those countries which have either not finally decided upon the path of their development or which, for one reason or another, would seem to be at an historical crossroads (as a result of partially rejecting socialist orientation or the suppression of capitalist development, but as yet not possessing the necessary criteria for socialist orientation).

The countries of capitalist orientation. At the present time there is a considerable amount of debate over the nature and substance of capitalism in the developing countries and the nature of mutual relations between the "center" and the "periphery" of the capitalist world. Without touching on these sufficiently specific problems, we will only deal with the problems connected with the varying nature and, more precisely, with the varying types of capitalism in different groups of Afro-Asian countries.

K. Marx once wrote that "one and the same economic basis...owing to diverse empirical circumstances, natural conditions, racial attitudes, historical influences operating from outside, and so forth can reveal in its manifestation endless variations and gradations which can only be comprehended with the help of analyzing all the empirically given circumstances." (Footnote 4) (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 25, Pt 2, p 354)

THE GENERAL UNEVENNESS OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION UNDER CAPITALISM, WHICH MANIFESTS ITSELF WITH FAR GREATER FORCE ON THE BACKWARD "PERIPHERY" OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD THAN AT ITS "CENTER," LEADS TO THE COUNTRIES OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD BEING EXTREMELY HETEROGENEOUS. IN ADDITION TO STATES WHICH ARE IN THE LOWER STAGES OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT, WHERE THE SOCIAL RELATIONS CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS MODE OF PRODUCTION ARE PURELY EPISODIC AMONG THE GENERAL MASS OF FEUDAL AND EVEN COMMUNAL-PATRIARCHAL

RELATIONS (FOR EXAMPLE, A NUMBER OF STATES IN TROPICAL AFRICA), THERE ARE ALSO COUNTRIES AT A RELATIVELY HIGHER OR, AS IT IS ACCEPTED TO SAY, MIDDLE LEVEL OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT. THE EXISTENCE OF A USUALLY SUFFICIENTLY DEVELOPED EXPORT-ORIENTED INDUSTRY IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THESE COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS A CLASS OF LOCAL INDUSTRIAL BOURGEOISIE, WHICH HOLDS POLITICAL POWER IN ITS HANDS (THE PHILIPPINES, SINGAPORE, MALAYSIA, AND OTHERS). THIS GROUP CAN ALSO INCLUDE THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES IN THE PERSIAN GULF; PERHAPS THEIR MAIN FEATURE IS THAT, DESPITE THE STRONG INFLUENCE OF FEUDAL-THEOCRATIC ELEMENTS IN THEIR SUPERSTRUCTURE AND THE "NIDUS-LIKE" NATURE OF THE MANIFESTATION OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS IN THEIR BASIS, CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT ITSELF IS PROGRESSING AT A FAIRLY RAPID RATE, WHICH IS PRIMARILY ENSURED BY THE EXISTENCE OF A POWERFUL, CONSTANTLY OPERATING STIMULATOR--HUGE OIL PROFITS.

In general, two main variations of capitalist development are characteristic of Asia and Africa, these variations mainly being distinguished from one another by the forms of "reproduction" of capitalist relations and, correspondingly, by the nature of the political superstructure.

The first variation is the formation of mass, "democratic," to quote V. I. Lenin, capitalism, which develops from below. India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, the Philippines, with some reservations, and, on the African continent, Nigeria, are all examples of countries where this process is in progress. As historical experience testifies, this variation (in contrast to the second, let us say) in a sense ensures more stable economic development and leads to the appearance and establishment of relatively democratic political systems with elements of parliamentarianism in a number of countries.

However, it would be a crude simplification to represent the growth of capitalism in these developing countries as a smooth process moving in one direction without impediment. The limited nature of the domestic market, the existence of a vast army of paupers, and the unyielding nature of pre-capitalist vestiges, especially in the villages, place serious obstacles in the path of capitalist development in these countries, the possibility of overcoming them is being discussed as before by scientists.

The second variation is connected with attempts by the ruling circles in certain developing countries to plant capitalism "from above" by making active use of financial, industrial, and military aid from the imperialist powers. The fulfillment of the ambitious program for the "white revolution of the Shah and the people" in Iran, when the country was proclaimed a "second Japan," and the socioeconomic modernization of South Korea, can serve as examples. Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand partly, and a number of other countries and territories belong to this group.

[AU311006] LET US NOTE THAT, WHILE SPEAKING OF VARIATIONS OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT, WE ARE BY NO MEANS IMPLYING THAT ALL THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST BE CONFINED TO A RIGID FRAMEWORK OF BELONGING TO THIS OR THAT VARIATION. AS IS WELL KNOWN, "ANY COMPARISON LEAVES MUCH TO BE DESIRED" AND, CONSEQUENTLY, A TYPICAL FEATURE OF THE CAPITALIST EVOLUTION OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AFRO-ASIAN STATES IS PRECISELY ITS ATYPICALITY OR, TO USE THE EXPRESSION OF K. MARX, THE EXISTENCE OF "ENDLESS VARIATIONS AND GRADATIONS."

AS A RESULT, THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF MANY COUNTRIES IS A MERGING AND MUTUAL PENETRATION OF THE SIGNS OF BELONGING TO A PARTICULAR VARIATION, WHICH, BASICALLY, AMOUNTS TO THOSE "EMPIRICALLY GIVEN CIRCUMSTANCES" SO CAREFULLY ANALYZED BY K. MARX. WE ENCOUNTER THIS KIND OF MUTUAL PENETRATION, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAUDI ARABIA, JORDAN, MOROCCO, EGYPT, SINGAPORE, AND A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

STRIVING TO RAPIDLY MODERNIZE AND "WESTERNIZE" TRADITIONAL RELATIONS BY FORMING BLOCS WITH THE FORCES OF NEOCOLONIALISM (THIS IS WHAT THE ESSENCE OF THE SECOND VARIATION ACTUALLY AMOUNTS TO) HAS A DUAL EFFECT. ON THE ONE HAND, CAPITALIST MODERNIZATION "FROM ABOVE" HAS LED TO A GROWTH IN CONTEMPORARY PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN SOME COUNTRIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS KIND OF "WESTERNIZATION" OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES LEADS TO A DEEPENING OF DISPROPORTION AND TO THE GROWTH OF CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND BETWEEN MODERNIZATION OF THE ECONOMY AND ITS SOCIAL FRUITS. THE SHAH'S IRAN IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF THIS KIND OF DEVELOPMENT.

THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION HAS REVEALED DEEP CONTRADICTIONS AND LAID BARE THE EVILS AND DEFECTS OF THIS KIND OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT. HOWEVER, ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE EAST IS NOT EXHAUSTED BY THIS. IT ALSO LIES IN THE FACT THAT THIS REVOLUTION HAS ILLUMINATED IN A NEW WAY THE ROLE THAT CAN BE PLAYED IN THE MATURING OF A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION (PROVIDED THE APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS EXIST, OF COURSE) BY CULTURAL-HISTORICAL, INCLUDING CULTURAL-RELIGIOUS, TRADITION. WE WILL BRIEFLY DWELL ON THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION.

The activation of tradition in the developing countries of Asia and Africa in the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties is a complex and involved phenomenon. Thus, growth in the influence of Islam throughout the world in recent years is an indisputable fact, but this fact is given totally different (we will add, different from a class point of view) interpretations and is used for different, at times opposing political purposes. For some, the "new Islamic wave," or the so-called "Islamic revival," serves as some kind of supposedly irrefutable evidence of a revival of a certain age-old "substance of Islam," while others dogmatically regard this phenomenon on a formal-empty level, assuming that any political content can be injected into the traditionalist Moslem movements at the wave of a magic wand. It seems that both points of view are wrong.

When analyzing social phenomena such as the "Islamic revival" two features must be considered and linked up. First, the extreme vitality of the deep subsoil of "retraditionalization" in the developing countries and its great potential for self-preservation, because it is connected by numerous invisible threads to the foundations of life and also the way of life of millions of people, which have crystallized over the centuries. Second, the mutual connection and mutual conditionality of the activation of tradition and general social processes taking place within the contemporary national liberation movement. As the experience of the Iranian revolution has shown, (let us note that many, and not without foundation, consider this revolution to be the clearest manifestation of the "new Islamic wave") by becoming an excessive burden for the broad working masses, capitalist modernization "from

above" sharpens their craving for the ideals of social justice and social equality to the maximum. These ideals are satisfied in the most natural way in the accessible forms of mass tradition (provided, of course, that this tradition, such as early Islam, for example, contains the aforementioned ideals in its spiritual and ideological "baggage.") Tradition is becoming both a kind of channel and a means of expressing truly mass social protest and makes this protest "articulate" in its antiexploitative direction.

In our opinion, this is where the progressive role of tradition as a revolutionizing factor in the national liberation movement comes to an end. Tradition as a language of mass protest does not contain and obviously cannot contain a comprehensive program of positive transformations.

THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION CAN BE CITED AS AN EXAMPLE. IN THE SOCIOECONOMIC SPHERE IT REVEALS ITSELF IN THE RULING ISLAMIC REGIME'S CURTAILMENT OF ITS PROGRESSIVE REFORMS OF 1979-80, AND OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN PARTICULAR, AND IN THE GRADUAL RESTORATION OF THE POSITIONS OF NATIONAL AND FOREIGN (PRIMARILY WEST EUROPEAN AND JAPANESE) CAPITAL IN IRAN'S ECONOMY. IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE IT MANIFESTS ITSELF IN THE STRENGTHENING OF ADVENTURIST TRENDS, THE SMOTHERING OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS, THE SUPPRESSION OF OPPOSITION FROM BOTH THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT, THE OFFENSIVE ON PROGRESSIVE FORCES (THE CAMPAIGN, BEGUN IN FEBRUARY 1983, TO PHYSICALLY WIPE OUT THE TUDEH PARTY COULD SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE), AND THE WEAKENING OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. ALL THESE PROCESSES, THE DESTRUCTIVE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ARE BEING INCREASED MANY TIMES OVER IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE CONTINUING IRAQ-IRAN CONFLICT, BASICALLY EMASCULATE THE ORIGINAL POSITIVE CONTENT OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION BY CREATING NEW POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE HOT-BEDS OF SOCIAL DISCONTENT WITHIN SOCIETY.

[AU311008] A specific and very important feature of the religious situation at the contemporary stage is also the fact that whole ideological-political trends which have a traditionalist or religious coloring are arising and growing stronger owing to objectively progressing (and, let us note, much accelerated in recent years) processes of synthesis of the traditional and the contemporary. These trends play an important political role in many countries and even in whole regions. The activation of the Islamic Conference, which has not only spread its influence to the Arab countries, but also to many other Asian and African states, the "Islamization" of the political systems of a number of countries (the Sudan), and the attempts by some regimes to utilize the Islamic factor in order to fulfill their own foreign policy aims (the policy of "exporting the Islamic revolution," which is pursued by the Khamene'i regime in Iran) can all serve as examples.

Summing up the establishment and expansion of capitalist relations in the developing countries at the end of the seventies, we can ascertain two conflicting principles connected with this phenomenon. On the one hand, there is no doubt that capitalism contributes to the growth of productive forces and consequently, within certain limits, also to the fulfillment of socio-economic tasks of development. At the same time, on the other hand, capitalist development is attended by great deprivations of the popular masses and by an increase in social tension, which creates new hotbeds of conflicts and

social contradictions. Consequently, the conclusions drawn by bourgeois scientists regarding the "rejuvenation" and strengthening of capitalism as a system, because of the growth of capitalism in the developing countries, are completely groundless. In actual fact, things stand differently. With the growth of capitalism in the developing countries, social conflicts come to a head (and much more quickly), which are capable of disrupting its development and opening up alternate paths of social progress. Under contemporary conditions this can only be a path of socialist orientation.

The countries of socialist orientation. The young Afro-Asian states which have chosen a course of socialist orientation embody an original revolutionary-democratic type of noncapitalist development.

Socialist orientation is a relatively new phenomenon in the Eastern countries' sociopolitical evolution. Its origin after World War II was prepared and brought about first, by the national liberation movement reaching a high level of development and gradually moving its general direction in favor of fulfilling tasks of social liberation, and second, by the beginning of a new era, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, when real socialism became a powerful factor in the revolutionary transformation of the world and began to exert an increasingly positive influence on international relations.

During the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties, revolutionary-democratic practice has been enriched with new historic experience. This is apparent in two aspects. On the one hand, several socialist oriented states are coming up to their 20th anniversary of development along a progressive path (Syria) or have even passed this landmark (Algeria). On the other hand, particularly during the last few years, the number of countries which have chosen social progress, thus opening up socialist prospects, has grown considerably. The question is not simply one of quantitative expansion of the group of socialist oriented countries, but also of the noticeable transformation to the left of this most important and most promising long-term trend in the liberated states' social evolution. This is testified to, in particular, by the fact that the "new complement" of socialist orientation--the young African states such as Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Benin (formerly Dahomey), and others, and also in Asia--Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen--are implementing revolutionary transformations on a fundamentally different ideological-political platform than the countries of the "first generation." What are the differences between the two generations of revolutionary-democratic countries?

Perhaps the most important difference lies in their attitude toward scientific-socialist theory and in the degree of practical revolutionary transformations. Reliance upon so-called national-socialist concepts of a nonproletarian type (the "Algerian socialism" of the National Liberation Front and the "Arab socialism" of the Ba'th, and so forth), which were developed as early as during the forties and fifties by representatives of the radical-minded petty bourgeoisie, the military and civil intelligentsia, students, and the middle city strata, which made up the broad conglomerate "social audience" (in which, in any case, the proletarian element was still weakly represented), is

characteristic of countries of the "first generation" (Egypt in the time of Al-Nasir, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, with some reservations, Tanzania, Burma, and others). The indefinite and blurred edges of the social base of revolutionary democracy in the countries of the "first generation" and their striving to satisfy the interests of different class, sometimes antagonistic, social forces has left its mark upon all revolutionary-democratic practice.

[AU311012] Scientific-socialist theory has exerted a definite influence upon the formation of nonproletarian ideological-political concepts. The National Charter of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic emphasizes, for example, "Socialism in Algeria expresses the deep aspirations of the working people and is enriched by the experience of world socialism." (Footnote 5) (The National Charter of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, Moscow, 1979, p 33) However, this influence has not been a determining influence; rather, it has basically been reduced to adopting various principles of party-state construction and various forms of economic organization, while the most important and fundamental tenets of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism have remained outside the field of vision of revolutionary democrats. Considerable stress has been placed and continues to be placed in these concepts on populism (frequently in its above-class interpretation), nationalist romanticism, and various kinds of traditionalist opinions and values. In other words, the question is one of the varieties of preproletarian socialism and petty bourgeois socialism which, as K. Marx and F. Engels noted, cannot be equated either with bourgeois, or with proletarian socialism, and which, as experience shows, possesses its own distinctive laws of evolution (in favorable situations--in the direction of socialism) in contemporary conditions and under the influence of world socialism.

Of course, the absence of a strictly scientific, comprehensive program of socialist transformations is fraught with the appearance of a number of profound internal contradictions in the sociopolitical development of this kind of revolutionary-democratic state. Thus, recognition of the "nonexploitative" nature of the national private sector leads in practice and under certain conditions to a strengthening of the economic and ideological-political positions of the so-called "new bourgeoisie" of the city and the village (various contractors, brokers, commissioners, wholesale and retail traders, prosperous farmers), which has a tendency to rapidly intertwine with the bureaucratic and technocratic elite of the state sector and to influence the policies of the ruling revolutionary democracy, including from inside the revolutionary-democratic parties themselves.

Representatives of the "second generation" of revolutionary democracy in the new historical conditions of the seventies clearly state their loyalty to scientific-socialist ideology in their program documents, as well as their striving to "implement the revolutionary transformation of society...while being guided in the fulfillment of this noble aim by the theory of scientific socialism, but with consideration for local features." (Footnote 6) (The Program of the Yemen Socialist Party, Aden, 1978, p 1, translated from Arabic) It is in these representatives that we can observe what would seem to be one of the key results of the complex, at times, tortuous process of the ripening and maturing of revolutionary democracy, which, by its own personal experience,

is convinced of the impossibility of moving toward socialism while ignoring the fundamental principles of the theory of scientific socialism.

Only in this case does the prospect of escaping the impasse of the "third way" open up before revolutionary democracy. In this sense, in our opinion, it is right to speak of the fact that socialist orientation of the present and of the future will objectively and increasingly gravitate toward the scientific-socialist type of development.

A considerable amount is now said and written about the difficulties and contradictions of socialist orientation. Openly pessimistic voices are sometimes heard and doubt is cast on the effectiveness and, ultimately, the ability to function of the theory and practice of socialist orientation. No doubt the difficulties are great and the acuteness of the contradictions on this path at times intensifies. At their basis lies the main (characteristic of all countries of socialist orientation) contradiction--between the non-proletarian social base and the socialist ideological platform. This contradiction frequently engenders an unsteady and unstable revolutionary process and the possibility of deviations and retreats. It sometimes places serious obstacles in the way of forming base and superstructure institutions.

We frequently encounter another objectively "set" contradiction in countries of socialist orientation: a vast scale of social transformations with an extremely low level of development of productive forces (especially in small-scale commodity and natural structures), which not only makes it difficult to harness these forces to the processes of the scientific-technical revolution, but also to the state sector of the national economy. It is clear that a protracted period of gradually and purposefully introducing new (transitional) forms of social relations on the basis of qualitatively new productive forces is necessary. This is a task of vast proportions. "A most important sphere of the activity of vanguard parties," noted B. N. Ponomarev in his report at an international scientific conference in Berlin, "is economic policy. Its complexity lies in the fact that one must simultaneously form a new material-technical base and improve the life of the working people. Under these conditions the leadership of countries of socialist orientation see a way out in moving forward gradually while avoiding artificially forced social transformations." (Footnote 7) (KOMMUNIST, 1980, No. 16, p 43) The outcome of national democratic revolutions depends to a decisive extent upon their successfully overcoming the aforementioned contradictions.

[AU311014] Whether surveying the seventies or turning to this decade, we are convinced that the present shift in accent in the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to tasks of a social nature is both a natural phenomenon and a profoundly instinctive one. When the collapse of imperialism's colonial system began in the postwar years, the national liberation movement's central problem was winning political independence. Resolving this problem monopolized all forces. The grandiose nature of this task, particularly against the background of centuries-long colonial enslavement, made it impossible to give serious thought to what would happen after national liberation. Today the situation has radically changed. Decolonization has become historical fact. The majority of Afro-Asian countries have their own

personal experience of postcolonial development. And what has this experience shown?

We will try to briefly characterize the main features of the most typical problems encountered by the liberated states in their contemporary development.

As before, the most acute problem is the low level of economic development and its inadequate rates of progress as far as the real needs of these countries are concerned. The gap which separates the developed states from the developing in these indices is not only not becoming narrower, but, on the contrary, is becoming considerably wider. Thus, according to UN statistics, in the seventies four out of every five developing states were unable to achieve their planned 3.5 percent production growth per capita of the population. In Southeast Asia this growth amounted to only 1 percent, and in a number of tropical African countries it was even lower. Many international financial organizations such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, for example, forecast a further drop in this average annual index in the eighties. Meanwhile, it is precisely in these low rates of economic growth that the main causes of the increasing exacerbation of the most complex social problems are rooted, these problems having already become "birthmarks" of many liberated states: malnutrition, unemployment, disease, and so forth.

The situation is aggravated, in addition, by the consequences of the population explosion, which will be felt very acutely right up until the year 2000 by the developing countries in particular. Whereas the population growth for the 1980-2000 period will be in the region of 12-17 percent in the developed countries counted among the 10 most populous states in the world (the USSR, the United States and Japan), according to UN statistics, an analogous index for the 7 developing countries which make up the 10 will swing from 28 percent in China to 80 percent in Nigeria. (Footnote 8) (World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1980, United Nations, 1981, No 4, pp 17-23)

The extreme economic difficulties of the developing countries are today focused on the galloping growth of their foreign debts, which by 1984 had spilled over the \$800 billion line. The annual interest payments on these debts alone amount to the fantastic sum of \$160-170 billion. A kind of "closed circle" is arising, when many Afro-Asian states are compelled to take out new loans and credits not for the purpose of their economic development, but in order to liquidate "accumulating" interest payments on old debts. One can see what powerful levers for economic blackmail and political pressure lie in the hands of the imperialist powers under these conditions.

Today, when the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the grandiose tasks of socioeconomic transformations called upon to liquidate backwardness, poverty, hunger and disease, the general climate of international relations, which would make it possible for them to concentrate their efforts on resolving the aforementioned problems, acquires paramount significance. Drawing the developing countries into the system of contemporary international relations with all their negative consequences

as a result of confrontation factors, which are in turn the result of the policies of imperialism, makes it doubtful that their programs for development can be fulfilled.

According to statistics provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (SIPRI) military expenditure on a world scale amounted to the vast sum of \$750 billion in 1982. This is approximately 23 times more than in the thirties. Events of recent years show that as the arms race is stepped up on a global level it increasingly directly involves the developing countries in the general process of militarization, is considerably instrumental in the development of a mini arms race, and creates dangerous hot-beds of conflict between these countries, which greatly exacerbates an already complex international situation.

It was precisely during the seventies that, having determined the strategy of "direct antagonism" with the Soviet Union at both global and regional levels as the basis of its foreign policy course, the United States began to regard any social or political actions in the developing countries and the liberation struggle of the peoples as the result of "intrigues" on the part of the USSR, which affected their so-called vital interests.

Antidetente for the liberated countries has meant an increase in their degree of participation in conflicts and, at the same time, has led to a sharp increase in their military expenditure. This expenditure has grown from being \$27.8 billion in 1970 to more than \$125 billion in 1982. (Footnote 9) (World Armaments and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook, 1983, London, 1983, p 161 (excluding the PRC, Egypt, the Republic of South Africa and Israel)) By 1982 the developing countries' share of the total sum of world military expenditure amounted to 16 percent (against 7.2 percent in 1970), and in terms of the proportion of this expenditure to the GNP (5.9 percent) the developing world is ahead of the developed. The ranks of the armies of the liberated states number 15 million, or 60 percent of the world total of servicemen. These countries now swallow up approximately 75 percent of the world arms imports. (Footnote 10) (F. Castro, The World Economic and Social Crisis, Havana, 1983, pp 204, 207; UNCTAD. Trade and Development Report, 1982, p 123; SIPRI Yearbook 1981, London, 1981, pp 156-59)

What is more, those regions that are already potentially explosive are filled with weapons. According to SIPRI statistics, during the 1978-82 period their military expenditure increased: \$18 billion in the Middle East, \$12 billion in the Far East (excluding China), \$8 billion in southern Africa, and \$7.5 billion in Latin America. That is, in other words, over such a short period of time and precisely in the most troubled regions military expenditure as a whole rose to \$50 billion. (Footnote 11) (SIPRI Yearbook, 1983, p 157)

[AU311210] What does this burden of military spending involve for the developing countries? It is known that the military expenditures of young states include a substantially larger element of "lost opportunities" than those of developed countries. It is a natural phenomenon that the less developed the economic and industrial base is, the heavier the formally equal (in relation to the gross national product) burden of military expenditures and the more

ruinous the effect of these expenditures on the national economy because, in this case, military expenditures represent a direct deduction from an already low accumulation level. The continuation of the current rates of military preparations in developing countries leads to economic stagnation, and overcoming this stagnation and embarking on a road of socioeconomic progress will be extremely difficult or even impossible.

There is yet another extraordinarily important aspect of this problem. The arms race in the developing countries, representing an extension and a component part of the global arms race, is more and more turning into a factor of exacerbation of international tension. For the developing countries this interdependence of the two sides of the process involves quite concrete economic losses from international tension and, vice versa, economic gains on global and regional levels from detente and from an end of the arms race. It is precisely in the interdependence between detente and development that the indivisibility of the contemporary world and the equal interest of all peoples of the world in preventing a new world war and ending the senseless and wasteful arms race are most clearly perceived.

This command of the times is more and more clearly realized in developing countries where only recently it was still felt that the problems of war and peace were not of primary importance for these countries but that they concern the developed states or even the big powers exclusively. However, life has disproved this view and demonstrated that, in the conditions of the present level of development of military technology, the exacerbation of international tension directly affects all countries and all peoples.

The positive changes in the position of developed countries were convincingly confirmed by the New Delhi Seventh Conference on Nonaligned Countries which broached the problem of the defense of peace and detente and limiting the arms race as the key foreign policy task of the developing countries. At the Sixth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in June 1983, representatives of many developing countries emphasized in their statements the existing interdependence between international security and the achievement of real results in developing just international trade and economic cooperation. The progress of all countries, both developed and developing, fully depends on peace in the world, I. Gandhi, prime minister of India, said.

Although disarmament on its own naturally will not solve all problems of the socioeconomic development of the liberated states, the recovery of the world's economic sphere, a source of many problems of developing countries, is nevertheless connected with it to a considerable extent. According to UN experts, even a 20-percent reduction in the overall military expenditures would not only help satisfy the most urgent economic needs but would also substantially reduce the gap in economic development between the developed and developing countries. It would provide additional possibilities for significantly increasing the share of aid to developing countries, not to mention in this connection the new opportunities connected with the reductions of military budgets of developing countries themselves and with the reapportionment of resources for economic and social purposes, the struggle against poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy.

The proposals of the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community, and several developing countries provide real and concrete measures to ensure security and peace for all peoples. Among these proposals it is possible to list such proposals as those on renouncing the first use of nuclear weapons, on mutually freezing the American and Soviet nuclear weapons, on concluding an agreement between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on renouncing the use of force, on obligation to refrain from using nuclear weapons against nonnuclear countries, on supporting the idea of creating zones of peace and nuclear-free zones, on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in any form, on reducing nuclear weapons all the way to their complete liquidation on the basis of reciprocity and equal security, and on reducing military budgets, and many other proposals that are designed not only to limit the arms race on a global level but also to substantially weaken the militarist tendencies also in the developing part of the world.

The fact that the gigantic tasks of social progress of an enormous majority of mankind concentrated in developing countries can only be solved under the conditions of peace has been absolutely clearly realized by everyone today. It is correct to speak from this viewpoint about the organic link between the struggle for peace and the contemporary national liberation movement. This is why, in our time, there is an increasing possibility to intensify the action unity between world socialism and the world of the developing countries on the basis of the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, national independence and social progress.

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INTERNATIONAL

'BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGUES' REFUTED ON NATURE OF EAST-WEST STRUGGLE

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[Article by T. R. Kondratkov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor: "Problems of War and Peace in the Ideological Struggle"; passages rendered in all capitals printed in italics in source]

*[Text]* Further development of the Leninist doctrine on war and peace and on the defense of the socialist Fatherland was cited by Comrade K. U. Chernenko as included among the achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought in recent times, as contained in the materials and decisions of our party.<sup>1</sup> This doctrine is an important instrument for gaining a knowledge of the essence of war and peace, an effective means for firming up the spiritual foundations of the Soviet state's defensive might, an extremely sharp weapon for struggling against bourgeois, reformist, and revisionist falsifications of the most urgent problem of the present time.

The problem of war and peace has historical, political, philosophical, socio-logical, economic, military, and other aspects, on each of which a sharp ideological-theoretical struggle is being waged. Based on an analysis of the classical works of Marxism-Leninism and party documents, this article examines primarily the questions pertaining to the correlations between politics, war, and peace; it shows the distinction in principle between their dialectical-materialistic interpretation and the idealistic one; it exposes the attempts to distort the high-principled positions of the CPSU in the struggle for peace, for a radical improvement in the health of international relations.

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An intensive struggle is being waged in the world arena between two trends of international policy, as characterized in the materials of the 26th Congress and the ensuing Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have consistently followed a course aimed at restraining the arms race, strengthening peace and detente, at protecting the sovereign rights and liberties of the nations. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko, the general secretary of the party's Central Committee, emphasized at the February (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Union will not retreat a single step from the Leninist foreign policy, which lives up to the noble principles of a lasting peace, freedom and independence of nations, and is directed at saving mankind from the threat of a worldwide nuclear war.<sup>2</sup>

This course, which demonstrates the close interconnection between the fate of the world and that of socialism, is opposed by another one--a militaristic course, aimed at undermining detente, an unrestrained arms race, a police of threats and interference in others' affairs, and suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples. Such a course is characteristic of American imperialism and its partners.

In order to provide ideological cover and grounds for justifying brute force and dictates, malicious attacks on the peace-loving course of the socialist countries, and in order to falsify the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on politics, war and peace, hostile propaganda makes widespread use of the most refined devices, "ideas," and doctrines--anti-communism and anti-sovietism, nationalism and racism, reformism and revisionism, religious mysticism, as well as military concepts put forth by bourgeois specialists.

One of the principal distortions of the essence of the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government is identifying Soviet foreign policy with the foreign policy of Russian tsarism and the present-day imperialist states. Thus, the American political scientist R. Pipes premeditatedly distorts the peace-loving nature of the policy of our party and state by ascribing to it "expansionism," which it supposedly "inherited"<sup>3</sup> from the pre-Revolutionary policy of Russia, whose history is also distorted by this militant anti-communist.

Nor does the leadership of the imperialist states shun falsifying Soviet foreign policy. For example, the President of the United States, R. Reagan, in his speeches and appearances presents arguments concerning a certain "perfidy" in the policy of the Soviet Union, as if it has set as its goal the "creation of a worldwide socialist or communist states"; he ascribes to our country participation in terrorism and territorial pretensions; he has proclaimed it to be a "focus of evil," and he has declared a "crusade" against communism.

The source of such fantastic inventions by bourgeois ideologues, political and military figures, is their hatred toward the country of victorious socialism. They strive to distort and besmirch the peace-loving nature of the USSR's policy and, at the same time, to likewise falsify the essence of the wars in defense of the socialist Fatherland--wars which the Soviet state was compelled to wage in repelling imperialist aggression--to place them on the same level as the predatory wars of the imperialist powers.

A form of distorting the foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state which is no less widespread in the West is composed of the false arguments of the bourgeois, reformist, and revisionist ideologues who assert that the causes of the complex contemporary international situation are concealed in the existence of the two military-political groupings--NATO and the Warsaw Pact--the two "superpowers"--the United States and the USSR, which are presumed to be equally guilty of exacerbating it. Thus, the American futurologist, H. Kahn, in analyzing the international situation, asserts that the principal danger for mankind is represented by the two "superpowers."<sup>4</sup> The West German sociologist H.-G. Assel, in turn, has declared that after World War II the "nuclear powers created a potential for over-kill, with the aid of which they can now turn the globe into chaos."<sup>5</sup> The policy of the USSR is thereby equated with the policy of the United States and the imperialist states, the qualitative difference between them is smoothed over, the question of the true causes of the military

danger hanging over mankind is concealed, and the class-political consciousness of the masses is obscured. There can be no identical attitude toward the socialist course of peace and the imperialist course of preparing for nuclear war--political tendencies which are opposed in principle by their nature and social roles. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko has emphasized, "the problems of war and peace...are inseparable from worldwide social contradictions, from the development of the class struggle."<sup>6</sup>

The nonsensical arguments of the bourgeois ideologues concerning the "superpowers" as the ones to blame for the tension in the world have also been disseminated by the reformists and revisionists. In this connection, they are screening U. S. imperialism and that of NATO, and they proclaim the source of the military danger to be the socialist states, above all, the Soviet Union. The purpose of this marked card of reformism and revisionism is to confuse the question of the sources of danger to the entire world, to identify the USSR's peace-loving policy and that of other countries which are members of the Warsaw Treaty with the aggressive policy of the United States and the NATO countries.

It is appropriate to remind those bourgeois, reformist, and revisionist false theoreticians who are attempting to shift the responsibility for complicating the present-day international situation to an equal degree onto the imperialist and socialist countries that World War I started prior to the emergence of socialism; it had its origins in the imperialist system. And the first state which marked its own birth by making proposals concerning the conclusion of a just and democratic peace was precisely Soviet Russia.

World War II began likewise in exactly the same way between imperialist states --they were directly to blame for preparing and unleashing it. It was precisely imperialism which created favorable conditions for the formation and strengthening of Fascist Germany's military machine, hoping with its aid to destroy the world's first socialist state. When bloody fascism was given its leeway, such destructive forces were unleashed as began to pose a serious threat even for those who had counted on using it for their own self-seeking, class interests. A real danger emerged for the independent existence of many national states.

The Soviet Union, which consistently conducted a policy of peace, decisively advocated the curbing of German-Fascist militarism and the creation of a system of collective security. However, the Western powers did not reach an agreement concerning a joint struggle against Hitler's Germany. The Soviet Union's entrance into the war after the treacherous attack on it by a deceitful foe became the determining factor which altered the socio-political nature of World War II. From this time on it was participated in not only by states of a single type but also by those which were essentially opposed in their class essences. The Soviet-German front became the main, decisive front of World War II, while the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, rescued mankind from the menace of Fascist enslavement, rendered aid to many peoples of Western Europe in liberating them from Hitlerism, and saved world civilization.

The bourgeois falsifiers have applied quite some efforts to distort the causes of World War II, its course, as well as its results, to belittle the role played by the USSR in defeating Fascist Germany and militaristic Japan. Herein there is an excessive exaggeration of the importance played by the opening

of the Second Front in Europe. The matter is depicted as if the landing of the Anglo-American troops on the European continent in June 1944 was the deciding factor in the defeat of Fascist Germany.<sup>7</sup>

However, the falsifiers have not succeeded and will not succeed in distorting the truth of history. It was precisely on the Soviet-German front that the main events of World War II occurred. It was here that the enemy suffered three-fourths of his personnel losses, and the basic mass of his military equipment was destroyed. "This led to the collapse of Hitler's Germany; it was the end of the raving plans and evil deeds of the Fascist maniacs on the road to world domination," noted member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Minister of Defense, and Marshal of the Soviet Union, D. F. Ustinov.<sup>8</sup>

It is commonly known that the victory over Fascist Germany also became an ideological victory of the Soviet people, a defeat of the Nazi ideology. Indicative in this respect is the statement by the contemporary American bourgeois sociologist Linebarger to the effect that German Fascism suffered a "crushing ideological defeat in Russia during the war of 1941--1945. This is a fact beyond disputing."<sup>9</sup> At the same time there was an extraordinary growth of interest and gratitude on the part of the people of earth toward Soviet man, toward his spiritual world, toward those ideas which led him to victory. It is natural that present-day militarism, which frightens the bourgeois citizen with the "Soviet threat," is applying all possible efforts to erase from mankind's memory any gratitude to the liberator-people. This is also served by the noisy propaganda campaign which is now being unleashed by the reactionary circles of the United States and NATO in connection with the 40th anniversary of the opening of the Second Front, an event which is supposed to "eclipse" the importance of the world-historical deeds of the Soviet people. And for a showy effect, as testified to by the practical experience of American specialists in fooling the average citizen, any means are suitable. It is possible to "re-edit" their own history without sparing, for example, even Eisenhower, the former commander-in-chief of the Allied Expeditionary Forces in Western Europe. In his order on the eve of the Normandy landing Eisenhower wrote, having in mind the Soviet Army, about the "valiant allies and brothers-in-arms." But in a pamphlet recently issued by the Pentagon these words had disappeared.<sup>10</sup>

Why do the American ideologues "edit" history? In order to make it easier to falsify the foreign policy of the CPSU.

The peace-loving Soviet foreign policy was given birth by the proletarian revolution; it flows from the very essence of the social and state system. It marked a complete break with the foreign policy of tsarism and the bourgeois Provisional Government, and it is radically different from the policy of the exploiter states. It is inherently internationalist in its nature. Our policy is permeated by a spirit of solidarity with the revolutionary, progressive forces throughout the world; it is consistently directed at ensuring peace, security, and friendship among peoples, and, as K. U. Chernenko said in answer to questions from the newspaper PRAVDA, "is not subject to ups and downs in business conditions."<sup>11</sup>

These qualities of our foreign-policy course are based on the scientific theory of a policy which has been developed on the basis of its dialectical-materialistic, class-type analysis.

The essence of politics lies in the fact that it is a concentrated expression of economics. "...The deepest roots of domestic as well as foreign policy," V. I. Lenin noted, "...are determined by the economic interests and the economic position of the ruling classes.... These tenets, which constitute the foundation of the entire world outlook of the Marxists..., must not be allowed to disappear from view for even a minute so as to be lost amid the thickets and labyrinths of diplomatic contrivances..." Moreover, the domestic and foreign aspects are inextricably tied together, and during certain periods foreign policy can be, as Lenin said, "advanced to the foreground."<sup>12</sup>

The most important aspects of Marxist-Leninist political theory have been reflected likewise and have been further developed in the documents and decisions of the CPSU, as well as in the collective forums of the fraternal parties.

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The classics of Marxism-Leninism have also revealed the essence and material roots of violence, including military force; they defined its true social role, pointed out the connection with class interests, and demolished the so-called "theory of violence," which proclaimed it to be the dominant factor of history. Only a strictly scientific, specifically historical approach allows a qualitative distinction between revolutionary force and reactionary force to be made, to show their opposite social and political roles, having established at the same time an historical framework for the existence of revolutionary force as a means of compulsion which will leave the public arena together with the disappearance of class and national types of antagonisms.

On this basis the entire system of knowledge concerning war and peace was re-created; a well-formed theory took shape whose enormous strength and immeasurable superiority over the bourgeois, reformist, and revisionist theories opposing it have been confirmed by life and practical experience.

War, as Marxist-Leninists understand it, is not a phenomenon isolated from the politics of classes and states. "Is it really possible to explain a war," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "without establishing a connection between it and the preceding policy of the given state, the given system of states, and the given classes...? That is the basic problem..."<sup>13</sup> Politics permeates all aspects of war, which serves the interests of politics; war is controlled by politics, it acts as its weapon, its instrument, its mean of attaining political goals. Politics directs a war, exerts its influence on the choice of the means and forms of military actions; it constitutes the foundation of military science and military art, strategy and tactics; it determines the class nature of the armed forces, their organizational structure, the principles of their indoctrination and instruction, as well as their combat activity.

Thus, politics do continue on in a war, but they continue by specific, violent means. This imparts to war particular features, transforms it into a bloody method for resolving political conflicts, makes it into a cruel arbiter in relations among classes, nations, states, and their groupings.

- As applied to wars, V. I. Lenin pointed out, fundamental tenet of the dialectic...consists in the fact that "WAR IS SIMPLY THE CONTINUATION OF POLITICS BY OTHER (i.e., violent) MEANS."<sup>13a</sup> Such is the essence of war in its Marxist-Leninist definition.

The bourgeois ideologues have attacked the dialectical-materialist understanding of the essence of war, its connection with politics, providing a twisted interpretation of this problem. One of the widespread forms of distorting the essence of war is its "de-politicization." This is expressed in the attempts to isolate war from politics, to identify it with military actions, with armed struggle. War is depicted merely as a military-technical act, the physical process of extirmination and destruction--outside any connection with any political and other social relations. War, writes T. Shelling, an American military theoretician, is the "battlefield," it is "suffering and destruction."<sup>13b</sup> The phraseology seems to be humanitarian, but its real goal is to mask the class-political essence of war, its links with the policy of militarism.

Another way of deforming the understanding of war's essence is its "total politicization," as manifested in the excessive exaggeration of the role played by politics, identifying war with the political forms of struggle per se, obscuring the specifics of war and its dangerous consequences. With the aid of a "political war," the imperialist aggressors hope to gain a "victory" over communism.<sup>14</sup> These calculations are foolish, invalid, and doomed to failure.

If the advocates of "politicization," following the example of the French prime minister during World War I, G. Clemenceau, assert that "war is too serious a matter to entrust it to the generals," then the apologists for armed violence express themselves in the opposite sense: "War is too serious a matter to entrust it to the politicians."<sup>15</sup> That is the way the views of the militarists have been formulated in the book entitled "Contemporary Strategy," published in the United States. In both cases there is a distortion of the genuine essence of war, its link with the politics of the exploiter classes and states.

Coming to know the essence of war is impossible without a revelation of its social and class nature. The class nature of war, V. I. Lenin emphasized--that is the basic question confronting a Marxist.<sup>16</sup> "Elucidation of the nature of war," he wrote, "is for a Marxist the necessary prerequisite for resolving the question of his own attitude toward it."<sup>17</sup>

The social nature of war, Lenin pointed out, is determined not by good wishes but by the "ACTUAL, OPERATIVE POLICY,"<sup>18</sup> by the actual position of the "commanding" CLASSES in ALL the warring powers,<sup>19</sup> by the objective conditions and the specific historical circumstances. It is precisely the social nature of wars which serves as a criterion for their classification, for dividing them into groups: just and unjust wars<sup>20</sup>; into types: imperialist wars, civil wars, national-liberation wars, wars in the defense of socialist fatherlands; into kinds: world and local, wars using conventional or nuclear weapons, etc. Such a classification allows us to determine the attitude of the popular masses toward various wars, to provide a true guide, and to outline their conduct and action.

The bourgeois ideologists deliberately distort the essence of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of war's social nature; they attack the division of wars into just and unjust. Thus, the West German political scientists--authors of the book entitled "The Just War"--talk to the point of nonsense, repeating the slanderous assertion about the existence of some kind of "danger of the Marxist-Leninist theory of a just war."<sup>21</sup> In the book entitled "The Roots of Ethics," which was published by American sociologists, it is asserted that, supposedly, "all contemporary wars are unjust."<sup>22</sup> Exploiting the anti-war moods of the masses, such authors place just and unjust wars on the same level; they undermine the foundations of classifying them and, thereby, destroy the moral and legal barriers restraining the imperialist aggressors.

The American military writer, R. Tucker, in attempting to provide grounds for the "American" concept of the "just war," goes so far as to justify the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the necessity for "retribution"; he strives to morally rehabilitate similar methods of armed violence. "Moral indifferentism" in evaluating war, according to R. Tucker, is a result, as he writes, "of moral certitude."<sup>23</sup> The book "Atomic Weapons and Ethics" cites the utterances of the American professor, P. Tillich, who approves of the nuclear arms race as a means of frightening a "potential enemy," and he calls upon the United States to follow the "socio-ethical imperative"--"to again be the first to use" this death-dealing weapon.<sup>24</sup> Such is the humanity-hating essence of the American concept of a "just war," which constitutes an open preaching of nuclear violence, amorality, and lawlessness in international relations.

The essence and nature of war are also revealed in comparing them with peace. Peace, like war, is a socio-historical phenomenon which also cannot be considered apart from politics, from its class nature. War and peace are two qualitatively different forms of politics. Peace is not simply the absence of war, as it is defined by many bourgeois political scientists. It is a well-defined system of relations between nations, states, and their groupings, based on conducting politics by non-violent means and methods. Such a political tendency is inherent in the socialist countries, and it finds precise expression in the Leninist formula on the indivisibility of socialism and peace.

The bourgeois ideologues have attempted to obscure the qualitative boundary between war and peace, to erase the distinction between military and non-military means and forms of struggle. A typical representative of such a point of view is the reactionary French sociologist, R. Aron. He asserts that in the nuclear age the formula to the effect that war is a continuation of politics by other means has been turned into its opposite: "politics is a continuation of war by other means."<sup>25</sup> And furthermore: "Peace is a continuation of war by other means."<sup>26</sup> This kind of verbal juggling pursues a far-reaching goal--to equate "in the laws" war and peace, to mask the line of demarcation between the two, qualitatively different social phenomena, and thereby to make it easier for the aggressive imperialist forces to violate peace, to undermine detente, and to unleash armed conflicts.

The struggle against the bourgeois ideology allows us to reveal more profoundly and fully the essence and contents of the revolutionary turnabout accomplished by the founders of scientific communism in views on politics, war and peace, to show the qualitative differences between the Marxist-Leninist views and all

the preceding and present-day bourgeois, reformist, and revisionist ideas, theories, and concepts. This is of great importance for the class toughening and indoctrination of Soviet people in the spirit of implacability toward the slightest manifestations of hostile ideology, toward the enemies of peace and the instigators of war.

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It is a well-known fact that the history of class society comprises a relatively small segment of universal history. Nevertheless, this society, based on private property and exploitation, has given rise to an enormous number of big and little wars, which became its constant companions. Millions and millions of persons perished in these wars.

Economically and politically motivated to engage in armed violence, the exploiter classes have used and are using war as an instrument to strengthen and expand their own power, to suppress and ensnare the laboring masses, to oppress and enslave peoples, and to seize other people's lands. V. I. Lenin noted that war "... is always and everywhere begun by the exploiting, ruling, and oppressing classes themselves."<sup>27</sup> In his words, they are usually the first to have recourse to violence, to war, to "place bayonets on the agenda."<sup>28</sup>

The militantly minded hirelings of the arms traders, the ideologues of imperialism, drunk with successes in the development of nuclear-missile equipment, have embarked upon the path of engaging in apologetics for the newest means of mass destruction, nuclear war. They are justifying by all means stepping up the arms race and the escalation of a policy of acting from a "position of strength." As the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized, "the imperialist reactionaries, above all, the ruling circles of the United States, by nurturing the raving plans of world domination, by their aggressive policy are pushing mankind to the brink of a nuclear disaster."<sup>29</sup>

Present-day militarism has inherited the aggressive nature and war-like traits of the previous militarism--the guilty perpetrator of two world wars and numerous local ones. At the same time, the militarism of our days, as distinct from that of the past, relies on a more powerful industrial base, on the latest achievements of science, equipment, and technology. This pertains, above all, to the American military clique, along with their servile accomplices, the British hard-liners, the West German revanchists, and the Japanese militarists. All of this increases a hundred-fold the danger of present-day militarism (primarily American) not only for individual countries and peoples but also for the destiny of all mankind.

The works of V. I. Lenin reveal the reactionary essence of militarism--the "vital phenomenon" of imperialism, its aggressive, war-like nature. As far back as August 1918, in connection with the foreign military intervention, Lenin noted that a "particularly tragic page in the bloody history of bloody imperialism"<sup>30</sup> had been opened by American imperialists.

World Wars I and II fabulously enriched the United States. It became the world exploiter and oppressor of peoples, the source of military danger in the world. The gravest crime of the American militarists, which they committed at

the end of World War II, was the creation and use of weapons of mass destruction. More than 300,000 persons perished from the two American atomic bombs which were dropped on two peaceful Japanese cities. The tragic count of the victims of this cannibalistic act, which the then-president of the United States, H. Truman, blasphemously called the "greatest phenomenon of history,"<sup>31</sup> continues to mount to this very day: there are premature deaths among the children of persons who were subjected to radiation. Since that time the militarists from across the ocean have, on more than one occasion, planned to launch atomic weapons or have threatened to do so. And if the Soviet Union had not deprived them of their nuclear monopoly, it is fully likely that there would have been new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis.

Over the course of all the postwar years the U.S. militaristic circles have been and remain the leaders in the nuclear-missile arms race, which embodies the aggressive policy of American imperialism, as it strives for world domination. The new death-dealing weapons are not only the result of militarizing the science and the economy of the United States; they are, at the same time, the monstrous fruit of its war-like policy.

A particularly dangerous page in the chronicles of the arms race has been written by the current U.S. administration. After coming into power on the turbid "wave of conservatism," it has adopted a course aimed at galvanizing nuclear militarism, at speeding up the creation (as well as adding to existing stockpiles) of qualitatively new, offensive, strategic nuclear potentials. It has developed and feverishly carried out an expanded program of creating nuclear-powered, missile-carrying submarines, strategic bombers, guided missiles with great ranges, and new, intercontinental ballistic missiles, which R. Reagan has hypocritically characterized as "guardians of the peace." The U.S. arsenal is also being filled up with other, very modern types of weapons of mass destruction. And the grounds for justifying this are provided by the following militaristic slogan: "Only he who arms himself survives in this world."<sup>32</sup> As we have seen, Washington does not avoid the word "peace," but, as K. U. Chernenko noted in his answers to the newspaper PRAVDA, behind the peace-loving rhetoric of the U.S. administration "it is impossible to discover, despite all the desire to do so, the slightest signs of readiness to back up these words with practical deeds."<sup>33</sup>

Having piled up mountains of nuclear and conventional weapons on the earth and having enmeshed it in a spider's web of military bases--support points of terrorism and banditry against liberty-loving peoples, the American nuclear hawks cast their gazes into outer space. They intend to militarize outer space, to turn it into an arena for what R. Reagan has called "star wars." For these criminal purposes the United States is striving to create during the next few years a large fleet of re-usable spaceships, capable with the aid of space weapons of putting intercontinental missiles and satellites out of commission. As Pentagon chief C. Weinberger declared, war in outer space is "not the realm of fantasy" but a reality prepared "by our technical and scientific genius."<sup>34</sup> Such is the death-dealing logic of the nuclear maniacs.

Extremely dangerous for the world is the following action of the U.S. militarists and their partners--the deployment in the Western European countries of first-strike weapons: the American Pershing-2 nuclear missiles and guided

missiles capable of reaching targets on the territory of the USSR and the other European socialist countries. Such an action can lead to only one thing--to a new and extremely dangerous upturn in the arms race, to an increase in the threat both for Europe and for the entire world. In connection with this, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been compelled to adopt measures in response in order to preserve the military equilibrium. At the same time, it was firmly stated that the USSR would not renew negotiations with the United States concerning nuclear armaments until the restoration of the position which existed prior to the deployment of the new American missiles, inasmuch as in the altered situation such negotiations had been turned into a screen for the military preparations of the United States and NATO.

Everywhere the peoples are coming up against an unprecedented growth in the aggressiveness of American imperialism, covered up by false, peace-loving phrases. The criminal aggression against the people of Grenada, the preparation of an intervention against Nicaragua, the provocations against socialist Cuba, the participation together with Israel in the armed intervention in Lebanon, the threats directed at Syria and other states, the transformation of Western Europe into a launching platform for U.S. nuclear missiles--all this convincingly testifies to the adventurism of the policy of American imperialism and its partners, its danger for the cause of peace.

Like a cancerous tumor, militarism has deeply infected and made ugly not only the economy of the United States and its partners, transforming it into the "business of nuclear death," but it has also laid its indelible imprint on the policy of the ruling imperialist circles, on their ways of thinking and acting. This is manifested, above all, in the militarization of public life, in keying on military strength as the chief instrument of foreign policy, as the key to solving all its problems.

Such an approach is characteristic, above all, for the current U.S. administration. Politics for R. Reagan is a "real war" against the socialist countries, a "direct confrontation" between the United States and the USSR on a global and regional scale; diplomacy is the diplomacy of force, the "waging of war by other means"; foreign trade is a "trade war"; ideology is a "crusade" against communism. The danger and criminality of these views are exacerbated by the fact that they are embodied in the foreign-policy and strategic doctrines of the United States and its partners. These doctrines provide legitimacy for the aggressive policy of the United States, its interference in the internal affairs of other states; they rehabilitate armed violence as a means of achieving political goals. With their sharp point, the doctrines are directed against social progress, the communist and national-liberation movements, against the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism. Having arrogated to themselves a certain "moral right" to conduct a policy from a position of strength, the U.S. militarists and their ideological hirelings thought up an appropriate "philosophy of strength" in order to provide the "scientific" grounds for such a course.

As is known, NATO's armament is now reinforced by the doctrine of "flexible response," which has been imposed on this bloc by the United States. It envisages the preparation of an entire spectrum of imperialist wars: worldwide and "limited," large and small, nuclear and conventional. The bloc's aggressive aspirations are expressed by this doctrine not in open form but in a masked form,

in the guise of "defense": it is cloaked in false arguments about the need to "deter" the enemy. In his speech of 23 March 1983 R. Reagan declared that the "strategy of deterrence has not changed. It is functioning even further." In his words, "the solid capacity for flexible response remains in force."<sup>35</sup>

An important link in the doctrine of "flexible response" is the strategy of "forward positions," as worked out by the West German militarists. As the current minister of defense of the FRG, M. Werner, declared, the principles of "forward positions" constitute the key element of the NATO strategy.<sup>36</sup> This bloc's armed forces, which also include the Bundeswehr, must be prepared, according to this strategy, to wage either a conventional or a "limited" nuclear war on the European continent. Already in peacetime several subunits of the NATO troops have been deployed in the immediate vicinity of the state borders of the socialist countries so that, in case a conflict should arise, they would have the opportunity of immediately shifting combat actions to their territory. Such disposition is masked by false arguments concerning the need to "protect" the territory of the NATO countries from the alleged "Soviet military threat."

The doctrine of "flexible response" and "forward positions" has been supplemented by a "new military strategy" for the 1980's, as developed by the Reagan administration. This strategy places its reliance on strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, on preparations for waging a global as well as a "limited" nuclear war; it requires that the United States be ready to fight two large, protracted non-nuclear wars simultaneously, as well as to participate in a smaller conflict in any region of the globe.<sup>37</sup> It has set as its top-priority goal for the next few years the achievement of U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union and that of the NATO bloc over the Warsaw Pact organization.

Guided by the doctrines of "flexible response," "forward positions," and the "new military strategy," the U.S. imperialist circles, as well as the NATO military clique, are striving to reverse the positive processes occurring in the world arena, to alter the military-strategic balance in their own favor. They are staking their main bet on the arms race, which they themselves are inflating, and on filling up the U.S. and NATO nuclear arsenals with new, particularly barbaric means of destroying people on a mass scale. The NATO countries are carrying out a long-term program of increasing armaments, conducting major exercises and maneuvers, carrying out an intensive ideological and psychological "manipulation" of the population and the personnel of the armed forces, which creates a genuine threat not only for the peace and security of the peoples but for their own existence as well.

The foreign-policy and strategic doctrines of the United States and its allies place their chief reliance on surpassing the economic and defensive potentials of the countries of the socialist community by means of increasing their own scientific and technical potential and the latest types of armaments, on cancelling the achievements of real socialism, and on reversing the socio-economic process. However, the military-strategic balance which has taken form during recent decades between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism has restrained the aggressive appetites of American imperialism and its accomplices. As the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized, the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact group and NATO has objectively served to preserve peace on our planet. And efforts to violate it are invalid and without future prospects.<sup>38</sup>

The sharp accent on military force as the main instrument of foreign policy, which is characteristic of the postwar imperialist foreign-policy and strategic doctrines, is conditioned by the following profound social and class causes: the undermining of the positions of capitalism, the deepening and exacerbation of its general crisis. However, the further increase in the nuclear might of the United States and NATO has not firmed up their security; on the contrary, it has increased the danger of destruction which is heightened from each upturn in the arms race. This leads the foreign-policy and strategic doctrines of imperialism beyond the boundaries of reasonable, rational thought (even from the viewpoint of capitalist "rationality"!), beyond the bounds of feasible human activity (even from the viewpoint again of capitalist "feasibility"!), and imparts to them an imprint of suicidal irrationalism. As regards their global inhumanity, the latter is already conditioned by their imperialist nature itself. "The simple truth of the matter is," as stated in the new program of the Communist Party of the United States, "that any nuclear conflict, if it were to occur, would inevitably lead to total war. Literally in the course of a few minutes human civilization, as we know it, would be destroyed. Despite this, American strategists are still working out plans in accordance with which they would be able to wage and win a nuclear war. All this testifies to the dangerous madness of a dying class."<sup>39</sup> Fortunately for mankind there are forces on earth which are capable of forbidding such a turn of events. These are, above all, the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, along with their economic and military might.

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In reply to the "nuclear challenge" cast down by the militaristic circles of the United States, the Soviet Union has sought to ban the use of atomic energy for military purposes. But the present American administration has blocked the adoption of such a resolution in the UN in all manner of ways. As a result, the arms race has taken on an unprecedented scope.

In contrast to the United States, the creation of nuclear-missile weapons in our country was dictated by external necessity, by the persistent need for self-defense against the nuclear provocations of American imperialism. This was a specially compelled, responsive measure, imposed from without, which made null and void the calculations of the aggressive military-political circles of the United States with regard to the invulnerability of its territory and its impunity in a modern-day war. If this depended only upon the Soviet Union, there would be no nuclear weapons on earth at all, nor would the latest means of mass destruction be developed.

However, when the nuclear threat proceeding from the American imperialists was hanging over our country, the Communist Party and the Soviet government adopted the decision to create a new weapon, guided by the directives of V. I. Lenin to the effect that the only means of saving oneself from the horrors of the aggressors' military technology "are those very same forces of technology."<sup>40</sup> The Soviet scientists and engineers, workers and technicians who created intercontinental missiles and nuclear weapons accomplished a genuinely heroic deed. The American military superiority was eliminated. The United States was deprived of the opportunity to blackmail the Soviet Union with the nuclear threat. Military parity has been a reliable guarantee of peace.

The CPSU and the fraternal parties declared with determination that nuclear war must not be permitted, it must be prevented and then completely eliminated from the life of society. This position is contained in all the collective documents of the communist movement worked out during the postwar years. The 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized that "world conflict under present-day conditions, when nuclear bombs can reach any continent within a few minutes and devastate enormous territories, would mean the deaths of hundreds of millions of persons, as well as the transformation into ruins and ashes of the treasures of world civilization and culture."<sup>41</sup> Nuclear war has been characterized in the documents of international communist forums as the greatest crime against mankind.

The most profound concern for peace and the highest responsibility for the destiny of mankind permeated the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States, adopted at the conference in Prague on 4-5 January 1983. It advanced a genuine alternative to the creeping toward nuclear catastrophe. In this extremely important document the following point is emphasized with determination: "The forces of peace are more powerful than the forces of war. Everything depends on their solidarity and purposefulness of their actions."<sup>42</sup>

The unchangeability of the Communists' course in the struggle against militarism was affirmed again by the June 1983 meeting of party and state leaders of the socialist states. In the joint declaration of the meeting's participants it is emphasized with determination that only the limitation, reduction, and elimination of armaments can ensure a firm and reliable peace.<sup>43</sup> The Warsaw Pact states took a new step on 7 May 1984. Following an agreement among themselves, they addressed a proposal to the NATO member-states to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the support of peaceful relations.<sup>43a</sup>

The USSR and the socialist community have set against the aggressive course of the United States and the other NATO countries, which is fraught with the danger of nuclear catastrophe, a broad-based program of actions, called upon to eliminate the threat of war, to strengthen trust and mutual understanding in international relations, and to direct the course of events into a peaceful channel. The measures in the field of strengthening detente and disarmament proposed by the 26th CPSU Congress<sup>44</sup> have continued and developed the principles of Soviet foreign policy which were formulated by V. I. Lenin. Our state's foreign-policy course, which embodies within itself continuity and innovation, extends from the Leninist Decree on Peace to the Program for Peace for the 1980's, which was put forth by the 26th Congress.

The Soviet Program for Peace, which has been made more specific in the documents of the recent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and in the speeches of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, encompasses proposals with regard to reducing nuclear-missile as well as conventional weapons, and with regard to regulating existing and averting new conflicts in crisis situations. It is permeated with a striving to deepen detente and develop peaceful cooperation among the countries of all continents. These measures are directed toward a single goal: to do everything possible to bring mankind out from under the threat of nuclear war and to preserve peace on earth.

As a great socialist power, the USSR fully recognizes its own responsibility to the peoples for maintaining and strengthening peace, Comrade K. U. Chernenko has declared. "We are open for peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation with the states of all continents," he emphasized at the February (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "We are in favor of the peaceful solution of all disputed international problems by means of serious, equitable, constructive negotiations. The USSR will fully cooperate with all states which are ready by practical deeds to assist in the reducing international tension and to create an atmosphere of trust in the world."<sup>45</sup>

While consistently conducting a foreign-policy course directed at curbing the arms race, strengthening peace and detente, at protecting the sovereign rights and freedoms of peoples, our party and government have not for a single day lost sight of the problems of strengthening the country's defensive might, its Armed Forces. They are doing everything necessary so that Soviet servicemen should always have the most up-to-date weapons, weapons which the imperialist aggressors could not help but reckon with. In this matter the Soviet state is not doing anything more than what is necessary to ensure its own security and the security of its friends and allies.

At the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K. U. Chernenko stated the following: "We do not require military superiority, we do not intend to dictate our own wishes to others, but we will not allow the military balance which has been achieved to be broken. And let no one have the slightest doubts: in the future we will continue to be concerned about strengthening our country's defensive capabilities, so that we will have sufficient means with the aid of which we can cool off the hot heads of the war-minded adventurers."<sup>46</sup>

While furnishing its own Armed Forces with new military equipment, including nuclear weapons, the USSR does not intend to attack anyone; it does not need a war, much less a nuclear one.

Upon the initiative of our state and that of the other socialist countries, the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1981 adopted the declaration entitled "To Avert a Nuclear Catastrophe." Solemnly proclaimed therein is the incompatibility with the laws of human morality of any doctrines permitting the use of first-strike nuclear weapons, pushing the world toward a catastrophe.<sup>47</sup> On 13 December 1983 the UN General Assembly approved by a majority of votes the declaration proposed by the Soviet Union on condemning nuclear war. It condemns decisively, unconditionally, and forever such a war as the most monstrous of crimes which can be committed against the peoples. The UN member-states are also called upon to brand as criminal acts the development, advancement, dissemination, and propaganda of political and military doctrines and concepts called upon to provide the "justification" for using first-strike nuclear weapons and the "permissibility" of unleashing a nuclear war. Also making a major contribution to the reduction of the danger of nuclear war threatening mankind are the following proposals presented by the Soviet Union for consideration by the above-mentioned session: "A Freeze on Nuclear Weapons," on the non-use of force in space and from space, as well as other documents.<sup>48</sup>

In a speech to the voters of the capital's Kuybyshev Electoral District Comrade K. U. Chernenko set forth a well-developed program for preserving universal peace and averting nuclear war. He underscored the fact that the policies of those powers with nuclear weapons at their disposal are of particularly importance in our times. The vital interests of all mankind and the responsibility of the state leaders to present and future generations require that relations between these powers be subordinated to the following principles: regard the prevention of nuclear war as the chief goal of their own foreign policy; refrain from propagandizing nuclear war in any of its variants--global or limited; take a pledge not to use a first-strike nuclear weapon; in no circumstances to use such a weapon against non-nuclear countries whose territories contain none; not to permit the dissemination of nuclear weapons in any form; step by step, based on the principle of equal security, to achieve a reduction of nuclear armaments right down to the complete elimination of all their varieties.<sup>49</sup> In a speech at the All-Army Conference of Komsomol Organization Secretaries Comrade K. U. Chernenko, having noted the growth of the military danger, the threat of nuclear war, and the further exacerbation of the ideological struggle, asserted the unchanged adherence of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community to the policy of lessening international tension and of strengthening peace.<sup>50</sup> In the historical confrontation of the two socio-political systems the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace, and progress is becoming more and more evident, as it crowds out the forces of imperialism, war, and reaction.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14--15 iyunya 1983 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14--15 June 1983. Stenographic Report], Moscow, 1983, p. 10.
2. See "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984 goda" [Materials of the Extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 13 February 1984], Moscow, 1984, pp 17--18.
3. See R. Pipes, "U.S.--Soviet Relations," in "Global Collective Security," Richmond, 1982, p 9.
4. See H. Kahn, "Die Welt von morden braucht uns heute," in "Die Erde wieder bewohnbar machen," Freiburg im Breisgau, etc., 1982, p 21.
5. H.-G. Assel, "Über Hauptprobleme politischer Bildung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," Frankfurt am Main, 1983, p 170.
6. K. U. Chernenko, "Vystupleniye na zasedanii Komissii TsK KPSS po podgotovke novoy redaktsii Programmy KPSS 25 aprelya 1984 goda" [Speech at the Session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission Devoted to Preparing a New Edition of the CPSU program, 25 April 1984], Moscow, 1984, pp 12-13.
7. See, for example, "Der Zweite Weltkrieg," Vol 3, Stuttgart, 1979, p 104.
8. PRAVDA, 9 May 1984.

9. As quoted in VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 3, 1975, p 21.
10. See PRAVDA, 19 May 1984.
11. PRAVDA, 9 April 1984.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." *[Complete Works]*, Vol 36, pp 327--328; Vol 31, p 152.
13. Ibid., Vol 32, p 82.
- 13a. Ibid., Vol 26, p 224.
- 13b. As quoted in J. Clark, "Limited Nuclear War," Oxford, 1982, p 29.
14. See R. Lowenthal, "Weltpolitische Betrachtungen," Gottingen, 1983, p 125.
15. "Contemporary Strategy," New York, 1975, p 29.
16. See Lenin, op. cit., Vol 37, p 296.
17. Ibid., Vol 26, p 27.
18. Ibid., Vol 31, p 154.
19. Ibid., Vol 27, p 304.
20. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" *[The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Plenums of the Central Committee]*, Vol 9, Moscow, 1972, p 340.
21. "Der gerechte Krieg," Frankfurt am Main, 1980, p 173.
22. "The Roots of Ethics," New York, etc., 1981, p ix.
23. R. Tucker, "The Just War," Baltimore, 1960, pp 48, 75.
24. "Atomwaffen und Ethik," Munich, 1981, p 106.
25. R. Aron, "Peace and War," London, 1966, p 162.
26. See "Freiheit ohne Krieg?" Bonn, 1980, p 54.
27. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 10, p 341.
28. Ibid., Vol 41, p 375.
29. "Plenum..." op. cit., p 189.
30. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 37, p 48.
31. As quoted in G. Herken, "The Winning Weapon," New York, 1980, p 3.

32. See M. Coppik and J. Roth, "Am Tor der Holle," Cologne, 1982, p 139.
33. PRAVDA, 9 April 1984.
34. EUROPÄISCHE WEHRKUNDE, Hamburg, No. 8, 1983, p 382.
35. See EUROPA-ARCHIV, Bonn, No 10, 1983, p 270.
36. See EUROPÄISCHE WEHRKUNDE, Hamburg, No. 1, 1983, p 4.
37. See D. F. Ustinov, "Against the Arms Race and the Threat of War," PRAVDA, 25 July 1981.
38. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 22.
39. SShA. EKONOMIKA. POLITIKA. IDEOLOGIYA, No. 2, 1983, p 121.
40. Lenin, Op. cit., Vol 37, p 368.
41. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy" [International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties], Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, p 54.
42. "Razoruzheniye--veleniye vremeni. Dokumenty i materialy" [Disarmament --The Imperative of the Times. Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1983, p 25.
43. See PRAVDA, 29 June 1983.
- 43a. See PRAVDA, 8 May 1984.
44. See "Materialy..." op. cit., pp 26--31.
45. "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma..." op. cit., pp 19-20.
46. Ibid., p 19.
47. See PRAVDA, 13 December 1981.
48. See PRAVDA, 17 December 1983.
49. See K. U. Chernenko, "Narod i partiya yediny. Rech' na vstreche s izbiretelyami Kuybyshevskogo izbiratel'nogo okruga g. Moskvy 2 marta 1984 g." [The People and the Party Are Unified. Speech at a Meeting with Voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District in the City of Moscow on 2 March 1984], Moscow, 1984, pp 28--29.
50. See PRAVDA, 29 May 1984

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INTERNATIONAL

INSTITUTE AIDE ON STRENGTH OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

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[From "The Modern World and the Workers Movement" program; video talk by Boris Isifovich Koval, doctor of history, professor, deputy director of the Institute of the International Workers Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Excerpts] If one analyzes the present international situation, then it seems that one can draw the conclusion that a moment has arrived or is arriving which is of worldwide historical importance: Is there to be war, or not; is there to be peace, or not; is mankind to exist, or not? Therefore, naturally, the problems of war and peace and the struggle for peace are in the center of attention for the whole international public. The peace movement has in recent years become a mass movement, one could say an all-embracing movement, and a special role is played in this movement by the international working class and the communist parties.

A factor of fundamental importance is that the socialist countries, including the USSR, have a vast military-political potential and express the interests of the working people and the working class and actively conduct a Leninist foreign policy, a policy of peace and cooperation. Other social classes and groups do not have these advantages.

The very rich practical and political experience which the working class and the international communist movement accumulated in the struggle against war and reaction in the 1920's and 30's is of vast importance in contemporary conditions. In modern conditions the antiwar movement has become immeasurably more massive and active compared with that era. And this has been made possible only thanks to the selfless activity of the communist parties and all progressive workers' and democratic organizations, for it is no secret that it is precisely the communists who were the initiators of the first stage of the antiwar struggle of the 1950's. Thanks to the communists and the working class in the 1950's the peace movement, for the first time, became a mass movement in the countries of Europe. Over a period of 30 years, from the end of World War II to 1975, the working class, the progressive forces and the communist parties conducted a very intense struggle against imperialism, for relaxation of international tension and for the creation of a new political climate. And this, one could call heroic, struggle was crowned by the signing in 1975 of the Helsinki agreement on security and cooperation in Europe.

This was a major success for all democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces. [Clip of Helsinki meeting, showing Soviet delegation, With Brezhnev, Gromyko and Chernenko; Brezhnev signing document.]

However, the relaxation of international tension did not last long. Imperialism, striving to weaken socialism and to suppress the world revolutionary process, the national liberation movements and the workers' movement went over onto the offensive. Particularly dangerous was NATO's decision to deploy new U.S. missiles with nuclear warheads in Europe.

This really senseless decision became, in the literal sense, the detonator of the most powerful peaceful explosion--an explosion of general antiwar protest. [Clips of demonstrations from many West European countries.] Some people in the West consider that the reason for the upsurge in the antiwar struggle is people's fear of nuclear death. Of course, it is incorrect to attribute the reason for the upsurge in the antiwar movement to this. Fear usually paralyzes the will, but we see a strengthening of the masses' will for struggle, their increased level of organization and consciousness. It is not fear of death but humane concern for the future, for the life of coming generations, responsibility for the fate of the world, the tradition of antiwar opposition and belief in the real possibility of preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe--that is what raises people to struggle. A vast and, I would say, fundamental role was played here by the relaxation of international tension in the preceding era, as, for the first time, it engendered hope and belief among people for a happy, normal and peaceful life. The movement for peace and against missiles and for disarmament has become the most extensive movement of all known to history. [Clip of Soviet demonstrations.]

It is impossible to ignore this public force. In any event, normal people cannot but take into account this colossal force of human society. Therefore, even the most reactionary circles of imperialist states have been forced to maneuver, to try to delude people, to lie, in order to disorientate the peace movement and to try to sow trust in the wisdom of their bourgeois governments. In many cases--in Western European countries, in Japan and in the United States--all sorts of repressions, police terror and intimidation have been used; agents and spies have been infiltrated into their ranks to break up the movement from within. But these actions are ineffective and cannot be otherwise, for people of the whole planet--workers, working people, peasants, intelligentsia and students--see with increasing clarity whence comes the threat to peace and who defends peace. Therefore, the foreign policy of our state and our party meets with growing understanding and support among broad circles of the population.

And in this sense, the working class, more actively than before, is entering into the struggle for peace and is bringing in after it other strata of the working people. In contemporary conditions, in conditions of an increase in international tension and threat of war, socialism, the workers' movement and all other revolutionary, democratic and pacifist trends are vitally interested in unification on the basis of the most simple and most humane program, the program of preserving life on earth, and this unification is the very force which can and will dispel the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe.

INTERNATIONAL

POLISH CHURCH COUNCIL DELEGATION VISITS

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[Text] Moscow, 15 Aug (TASS)--A communique on the results of a visit by a delegation of the Polish Ecumenical Council, which ended today, notes the need "To increase joint activities of the churches of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] in the ecumenical and peace-making spheres."

The delegation led by Bishop Janusz Narzynski, chairman of the Polish Ecumenical Council, was in the USSR 8-15 August at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church. The delegation included leaders and eminent figures in the PPR's orthodox, old catholic and protestant churches. It visited Moscow, Zagorsk, Smolensk and Kiev. The Polish guests met and talked with Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia; Patriarchate Exarch Filaret for the Ukraine and Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia; and with other leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church.

A meeting took place with Pastor Aleksey Bychkov, general-secretary to the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists, and with other members of the Moscow Baptist community.

According to the guests, religious life in the USSR was shown to them in all its fulness during the visits to services in orthodox churches and Baptist chapels, and to religious seminaries. At the final meeting, which took place 14 August in the publishing section of the Moscow Patriarchate, greetings to the delegation members from Patriarch Pimen, of Moscow and all Russia, were read. In this document Patriarch Pimen noted the significance of fraternal links between the two countries' churches, and expressed the hope that "growing brotherliness will make a considerable contribution toward deepening interchurch relations, and toward further developing friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union, in the blessed cause of creating a peaceful and blessed future on the European continent and in the whole world."

The delegation members highly praised the significance of the visit in the communique. They believe it "helped both sides to enter more deeply into problematics of further interrelations, and to discuss ways and means to strengthen and expand them." The delegation left for home today.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### SOVIET, POLISH CP INSTITUTES HOLD SYMPOSIUM ON PARTY BUILDING

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 84 pp 151-155.

*[Article by T. V. Porfir'yeva, candidate of historical sciences: "Soviet-Polish Symposium on Party Building"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]*

*[Text]* On 13--14 March an international symposium was held on the problems of party building in Moscow at the IML *[Marxism-Leninism Institute]* of the CPSU Central Committee. Its topic was "The Guiding Role Played by the Communist Party in a Socialist Society." Taking part in the symposium's work were scientific staff members of the IML and the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as Polish scientists from the IOPML *[Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism]* of the PZPR *[Polish United Workers Party]* Central Committee and the Higher School of Social Sciences of the PZPR Central Committee.

In his introductory speech the first deputy director of the IML of the CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor P. A. RODIONOV, emphasized that this symposium was, in essence, a continuation of the meeting which took place in November of last year in Warsaw between Soviet and Polish specialists in the field of party building and devoted to the topic: "Leninist Doctrine on the Party and the Present Day."

Located at the center of attention of the symposium's participants, as had also been the case at the previous meeting, were the root problems of party building, linked with implementing the guiding role played by the Communist Party in a socialist society, the interrelationships between the party and the state, the party and the mass organizations of the working people, the forms and methods of carrying out its political leadership of the society, and the processes of intra-party development. The reports and communications of the Soviet and Polish scientists examined the objective and subjective conditions influencing the position of the party in the society, the level of its guidance of socialist building, and the status of intra-party relations.

On the part of the Soviets the principal report on the topic of "Certain Questions of the Increase in the Guiding Role Played by the CPSU under the Conditions of Developed Socialism" was delivered by Professor P. A. RODIONOV. By creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory and relying on extremely abundant practical experience during the course of building socialism, he stressed, the

CPSU has provided a multi-faceted justification for the conclusion that the steady and unwavering increase of the party's role in the life of the society is the most important principle of building socialism and communism. This conclusion, based on the Marxist-Leninist tenets concerning the correlation between the objective and the subjective and the primacy of the conscious principle over spontaneous development, was reflected in the founding documents both of the CPSU and those of the other fraternal parties. It is a component, organic part of the concept of developed socialism.

The 1977 USSR Constitution--the Basic Law for the life of the society of developed socialism--has precisely reflected the Communist Party's role and place in the society and the state; it legislatively confirms the fact that the party is the guiding and directing force in Soviet society, the core of its political system and of all state and public organizations, that it is precisely it which determines the over-all prospects for society's development, the line of the USSR's domestic and foreign policies; it guides the great, constructive activity of the Soviet people and imparts a systematic, scientifically founded nature to its struggle for the victory of communism.

Under the conditions of developed socialism many problems of the country's economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual development have been raised in a new fashion, and both the possibilities and social requirements have become different to a considerable extent and this, in turn, has brought about a thorough-going re-structuring of various aspects of the practical activities of the party and the people. Abundant material, which helps us to better see and recognize the nature and conditionality of the process of the party's increased role at the present stage, have been furnished by the documents of the 26th Party Congress, the ensuing Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the speeches and works of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, which further develop principal theoretical positions in the light of present-day requirements and tasks. These documents and materials constitute an enormous contribution to the Leninist doctrine of the party; they point out the paths which lead to further strengthening of the guiding and organizing influence of the CPSU on all aspects of the life of a mature socialist society.

The speaker dwelt in detail on a description of the profound changes which have taken place in the economy, the social structure, and the spiritual life of the Soviet society, the qualitatively new factors of its political organization; he emphasized the objective conditions of the expansion and deepening of the party's foreign-policy activities, directed at further developing the world socialist system, strengthening the unity and solidarity of the world communist movement, intensifying the struggle for peace and security of the peoples. In contrast to all types of revisionist concepts, the CPSU has always proceeded and is proceeding from the position that the leadership of the ruling Marxist-Leninist party encompasses all spheres of public life--economic, political, social, ideological, and foreign-policy. If this were not the case, the socialist society would be deprived of a purposeful, scientifically founded leadership, and thereby socialist, communist building would be doomed to a spontaneous drift with all the ruinous consequences stemming from that. It is precisely the Communist Party which, by virtue of objectively conditioned cause, performs a guiding role, ensuring the forward development of the socialist society along the path to communism.

P. A. Rodionov also noted the theoretical and practical importance of the question of the correlation between the general and the particular in party building, the invalidity of attempts to belittle generally important, essentially international principles of party building, the exaggeration of the national, the particular, imparting to it a self-sufficient importance. The characteristics of socialist and communist building, the development of the Communist Party itself, Lenin taught, cannot nor should belittle the decisive importance of general principles, including those in the field of party building.

On the part of the Poles the principal report was delivered by the deputy director of the IOPML of the PZPR Central Committee, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor A. DOBIESZEWSKI, who examined the theoretical problems of the socio-political development of the PPR [Polish People's Republic] at the present-day stage. Strengthening the guiding role of the Communist Party in building socialism, Professor Dobieszewski emphasized, requires constant analysis of the socialist society's development, an objective evaluation, without being obscured by idealization or exaggeration, of the status of social-class relations and societal conflicts. Building a classless society, the speaker noted, is lengthy and complex in its nature: in its process not only exploitation must be destroyed, but there must also be eliminated gradually the essential differences inherent to the first phase of communist formation; these differences are connected with the nature of labor, the unequal participation of working people in creating and distributing the national income, etc. The process of forming a communist society likewise requires a high level of cultural standards and awareness of the masses; this is a necessary condition for their active participation in social and political life.

The speaker dwelt in detail on a description of the contradictions inherent in a socialist society. He emphasized, moreover, that the uniqueness of socialism lies not in the absence of contradictions but in the fact that its contradictions by their nature differ in principle from the contradictions of a capitalist society. Socialism does not give rise to antagonisms by its own nature. Poland's experience has demonstrated once again that it is not socialism but the departures from its principles, the ignoring of the objective laws of societal development which contain the causes for the social tension arising under the conditions of socialism, when the country's domestic difficulties are being taken advantage of for anti-socialist purposes by international and domestic reactionaries.

The system of property relations which now exists in Poland and the social-class structure of society which stems from these relations does not have a homogeneous nature, the speaker went on to say. Along with the classes and strata connected with public, socialist property ownership, there are also societal groups the basis of whose existence is private property and small-scale commodity production. This obligates the PZPR to take into consideration the economic, political, and ideological consequences of the society's social heterogeneity, the specifics of the interests of various classes and social groups. Our country's experience has confirmed the fact, Professor Dobieszewski noted, that both the underestimation and the overestimation of the societal integration which has been achieved, the degree of drawing closer together by society's classes, social strata, and groups, can become a brake on socialist building. The report emphasized the particular importance of a Marxist-

Leninist methodological approach for researching the problems of social-class relations as well as other questions of Poland's socialist development, for overcoming that influence which revisionist concepts have exerted on the social sciences, and with the aid of which attempts have been undertaken to introduce into science the idea of the so-called "alienation of the working class," and on this basis to formulate a platform for open and camouflaged struggle against the party. Definite harm has also been inflicted by dogmatic views, cut off from the concretely historical conditions of Polish society's development and the contradictions peculiar to it.

Strengthening the PZPR's guiding role in the further socialist development of Poland, this speaker stated in conclusion, requires that the party step up its attention to consistently expressing the interests of the working class which coincide with the objective course of social development, as well as the coordination on this basis of the social interests of the society's other classes and social strata.

The questions set forth in the reports became the basis of a fruitful discussion. A considerable portion of the presentations by these Soviet and Polish scientists was linked with disclosing the nature and contents of relations between the party and the other components of a socialist society's political system. The communications by the Soviet specialists noted the qualitatively new factors in the CPSU's guiding activity under conditions of the perfection of developed socialism.

The chief of the Party Development Department of the IML of the CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor V. Ya. BONDAR', spoke on the topic "The Guiding Role of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the Functions of the Socialist State." He emphasized the political nature of party leadership under the conditions of a socialist society, having noted that the party carries out its guiding role not by the force of power but thanks to its political authority and ideological influence among the masses.

This speaker went on to remark that present-day revisionists are speculating on problems connected with the leadership of the Communist Party; they are grossly distorting the nature of the party's mutual relations with the Soviet government and with the public organizations of the working people. Bourgeois and revisionist critics assert, in particular, that the CPSU supposedly undervalues the political system's other institutions, arrogates their functions to itself, and limits the field of their activity. All the theoretical and practical activity of the CPSU rejects such fantasies. Our party has always opposed attempts to equate the Communist vanguard with the state authority, emphasized the specifics of the functions of the party and state organs, shown concern over strengthening the socialist state, which is called upon to be the main instrument for building the new society, for defending and multiplying its gains; nor has it ever permitted a weakening of its own guiding role, which is the determining condition for the winning and successful functioning of the working people's power.

Problems of the interaction between the party and the other institutions of socialism's political system were likewise in the communication by the chief of the sector for the party development of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries of the IML under the CPSU Central Committee, Candidate of Historical

Sciences A. V. SAMOSUDOV. Experience in building socialism, he emphasized, testifies to the fact that the guiding role of the Communist Party as a legitimate principle of societal development is carried out through a specific political mechanism. With all its distinctive traits, stemming from the characteristics of the concrete-historical conditions of the socialist countries' development, this mechanism reflects, on the one hand, the party's place and role in the political system of socialism, the specifics of the forms and methods of party leadership, and, on the other hand--the unique positions of the political system's other institutions--the state organs and the public organizations.

Professor of the AON */Academy of Social Sciences/* under the CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Historical Sciences N. N. VINOGRADOV dwelt on questions pertaining to the mutual relations between the ruling Marxist-Leninist party and the mass organizations of the working people, the style and methods of guiding them politically. Our society's political life, he stressed, is now marked by an increase in the guiding role played by the CPSU on the one hand and by an activation of the work of all the mass organizations of the working people on the other hand. This is an interconnected and interconditional process, stemming from the very nature of the socialist society and the needs for its forward development. This double process also defines the nature of the relations between the Communist Party and the state and public organizations. The more profoundly and extensively its action is manifested (it occurs, as we know, not by itself, but as a result of the day-to-day, purposeful work of the party, its active co-operation with all extra-party organizations), the stronger are both the party and the masses, joined together in diverse forms of organization, and the more consolidated their vital ties become. Developing under the party's guidance, the public and state organizations enrich each other's experience more and more fully and more and more successfully solve the problems confronting them in the interests of building communism.

Certain urgent questions, connected with mutual relations between the party and the working class in the socialist society, were elucidated in the communication by the senior scientific associate of the IML of the CPSU Central Committee, Candidate of Historical Sciences T.V. PORFIR'YEVA.

Discussion showed the extreme timeliness of the questions which were raised in the reports and presentations. The Polish scientists analyzed the positions set forth, taking into account the problems to be solved by the PZPR at the present time, paying attention to the particular necessity for Poland's further successful development of consistently implementing the general principle of socialist building, taking into consideration the country's historical and national characteristics, with a multi-faceted use of the very abundant experience of the CPSU, accumulated by it during the process of creating and improving a society of developed socialism.

The chief of the department of party theory and the socialist political system of the IOPML of the PZPR Central Committee, Doctor of Sciences, Professor E. ERAZ-MUS dwelt in his communication on the urgent problems of the PZPR's theoretical and practical activities. He emphasized that the specific positive changes recently occurring in Polish society are connected with strengthening the party's influence on the country's economic and socio-political life, with reinforcing the Marxist-Leninist nature of the party itself. After the 9th PZPR Congress,

particularly in connection with the preparation and holding of the 12th (May 1983) and 13th (October 1983) Plenums of the Party's Central Committee, devoted to ideological questions, as well as the All-Polish Conference of Delegates of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress (March 1984) there has been an activation of theoretical party work; a certain clarity has been introduced into defining the socio-historical stage at which the country finds itself. Agitational-propaganda work among the masses has been conducted on a more reasoned basis. Professor Erazmus also noted that the party is now holding itself accountable for the existing shortcomings, for the need to further struggle for the masses, for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, for consistently implementing socialist principles.

An important sphere of the PZPR's guiding activity under present-day conditions is the country's national economy, the carrying out of the economic reform, and the introduction of the new forms of workers' self-management at enterprises. These problems comprised the subject of a communication by Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor of the VShON [Higher School of Social Sciences] under the PZPR Central Committee T. JAWORSKI. He emphasized that the workers' self-management has not limited the party's role in the country's economic life. It not only does not diminish but requires even more intensification of party activity at enterprises, a heightened role for the primary party organizations, a consistent implementation of personnel policy, and a systematic party control. The PZPR accords special importance to the activity of the trade unions, to their role in enhancing, under the party's guidance, the labor and social activities of the working class and the other strata of the working people.

The presentation by Docent of the VShON under the PZPR Central Committee Ye. KUCINSKI furnished an analysis of the changes which have occurred in the functioning of the Sejm and the local organs of authority. The distinctive trait of the PZPR in recent times is the course which it has adopted to democratize state life, heighten the role played by representative organs of authority, activate the legislative activity of the Sejm, and strengthen the influence of working people on the processes of governing society and the state. The new Law on Elections to the People's Councils, as passed by the Sejm, has been widely discussed in labor groups. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is playing an increasing more noticeable role in the formation of public opinion.

A number of theoretical and practical problems connected with strengthening the PZPR's guiding role in the present-day stage are conditioned by the uniqueness of Poland's political life, by the particular importance of correct interrelationships between the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party. In analyzing these questions, Senior Scientific Associate of the IO PML of the PZPR Central Committee, Candidate of Historical Sciences M. KARWAT emphasized that the party decisively rejects all manner of attempts to interpret these political alliances in a pluralistic vein, without allowing either a denial of the Communist Party's guiding role or belittling the importance of its political allies.

The speakers remarked on the special importance of the Communist Party itself, the strengthening of its class nature, its ties with the masses, and the ideological and organizational unity of the party ranks. Professor of the AON under

the CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. FELIFOROV spoke at the symposium on the improvement of intra-party democracy and the strengthening of party discipline as an important condition for heightening the guiding role of the Communist Party in the socialist society. Under the conditions of developed socialism the party ensures the further expansion of intra-party democracy and the strengthening of party discipline. Improving intra-party democracy and strengthening discipline in the party is carried out on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, which defines the essence and the optimal correlation between democracy and discipline, their development in a correct direction.

The changes in the social composition of the PZPR after the 9th Party Congress, the strengthening of its workers' core was spoken about at the symposium by the deputy chief of the Department of Party Theory and the Socialist Political System of the IOPML under the PZPR Central Committee, Candidate of Historical Sciences M. SZYSZKO. The PZPR leadership is striving to strengthen the unity of the party ranks on the basis of a policy of socialist renewal conducted by the party, intensifying the ideological work of the party, and raising the level of the Marxist-Leninist education of the Communists.

The Polish scientists manifested particular interest in the experience of implementing the guiding role of the CPSU in building socialism and communism, the theoretical and practical aspects of enhancing its role at the present-day stage. They showed a detailed interest in the organization of intra-party life, in particular, in the primary units of the party, as well as implementing party control and the personnel policy of the CPSU.

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INTERNATIONAL

1939 NAZI-SOVIET PACT BLAMED ON UK-FRENCH 'DISHONEST GAME'

LD311113 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 31 Aug 84

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS--TASS political news analyst Antoliy Krasikov writes:

Forty-five years ago, on September 1, 1939, the deadliest of all the armed conflicts in human history broke out. It involved 72 states, which put under arms and sent into action 110 million people. The war claimed more than 50 million human lives, about half of them Soviet.

Hitlerite Germany, which unleashed the world war, quickly brought to its knees almost the whole of Europe. In the west of the continent not only smaller countries but also such military powers as France surrendered virtually without putting up a fight. Britain, against which Hitler had not sent troops but only used bombardment, stood its ground. It was only in the east of Europe that the Nazis came against serious resistance. It was offered by the Soviet Army which contained the onslaught of the enemy at the cost of heavy losses and then turned the tide of the war and ensured ultimate victory over Hitlerism.

The passivity of Western powers during the first stage of the war was a direct consequence of the policy they had pursued before the armed conflict. They hoped till the eleventh hour to direct Hitler's aggression exclusively to the east, against the Soviet Union, while remaining on the sidelines.

Just as the United States today touts its readiness for talks with the USSR while emasculating those talks of their real contents in a bid to secure unilateral advantage and renouncing the principle of equal security, so before the Second World War Britain and France played a dishonest game, camouflaging their selfish plans with a fake desire to conduct talks with the USSR.

At the talks in the spring and summer of 1939 Britain and France tried to bind only the Soviet Union with obligations to participate in a war while leaving their hands free. At the same time they declined the Soviet proposal to conclude a treaty equally binding all the three powers to come to each other's aid in case of aggression in Europe against either of them as well as in case of aggression against Poland, Romania, the Baltic States, Turkey and Belgium.

While talks with the USSR were underway, the British government began secret talks with Hitler, offering him a nonaggression pact and a division of the spheres of influence on a worldwide scale. London wanted to include the Soviet Union in the number of countries that were to be divided and agreed to renounced guarantees to independent Poland.

Faced with the dishonest game of its West European partners, the USSR decided to accept a nonaggression treaty offered to it by Germany and that treaty was signed at the end of August 1939. In this way Britain and France punished themselves. As for the Soviet Union, it realized from the outset that sooner or later Hitler would unleash his aggression against the USSR as well. However, it got a breathing space and therefore a possibility better to prepare itself for carrying the brunt of the future war. The Western powers, meanwhile, could no longer stay aloof of the conflict and bide their time while the USSR and Germany were battling it out.

The day on which the Second World War broke out is now marked as World Peace Day. The Day of Trade Union Action for Peace is observed simultaneously. Nowadays the threat to peace is posed by the aggressive NATO bloc and its leaders, the U.S. militarists. Preparing a first strike against socialist countries, they try to lull the vigilance of the peoples, including their own nations, with rhetoric about talks. But people well know the worth of this rhetoric.

It is still possible to save peace. However, it takes practical deeds rather than words to do so.

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INTERNATIONAL

FRENCH CP POLITBURO MEMBER VISITS BAKU

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 17 August 1984 carries on page 1 a 400-word account of the visit on 16 August of Andre Lajoinie, member of the French CP Political Bureau. He was greeted in the Azerbaijan CP CC by K. M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee. Bagirov talked about the successes of Azerbaijan in the fraternal family of Soviet nations and work of the republic on fulfilling the tasks of the 26th Congress and plenums of the CPSU. He also spoke of solidarity of fraternal communist parties and emphasized how well the workers of Azerbaijan were aware of the powerful force the French Communist Party represented within the communist movement.

Lajoinie thanked the Azerbaijan people for their hospitality, praised them for their successes and reiterated Bagirov's words on the communist movement and the struggle for peace against the aggressive course of the United States and against nuclear weapons.

Also present at the meeting were R. E. Mekhtiyev, secretary of the Azerbaijan CP CC; V. S. Guseynov, CPSU CC responsible worker; and N. A. Akhundov, head of the Azerbaijan CP CC Department for Foreign Ties.

CSO: 1830/651

NATIONAL

COMPLAINTS ON HOMES FOR ELDERLY INVESTIGATED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by the Investigative Team of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: K. Avdeyeva, Yu. Levitskiy, Y. Syrtsov, V. Udachin: "Why Does it Lack Comfort"]

[Text] From the first time that articles devoted to the lives of those in their declining years appeared in this paper, the editorial office has received a constant flow of letters related to the range of issues which arbitrarily we chose to call "A Home for a Long Life", that is to say everything related to homes for the elderly. Senior citizens are very troubled by everything.

One often encounters in these letters, for instance, statements such as the following: "We older folks, as a rule, take a watchful attitude to homes for the elderly". Or, "since the paper has devoted a lot of attention to the construction of homes of the hotel, apartment type, does this mean that the common type of home is a facility with a low reputation?"

We have also received questions from people who were only beginning to look into or to consider moving into a home for the elderly, as well as those who are already living in one and who, sometimes, have managed in a short amount of time to accumulate certain negative impressions.

The editorial offices investigated all of the critical letters. A number of them were checked out by the RSFSR deputy minister of Social Security, Ivan Fedorovich Soldatenkov, one of the most active participants in the initiative group which was created under the editorial office so that the "newspaper-senior citizen" tie would be businesslike and effective.

However, mail that recently arrived marked to the attention of "Home for a Long Life" also contained a specific proposal to the editorial offices - to visit the homes for the elderly, and take a look at the structure of their existence. It was proposed that we look into the details, the "trifles", as some senior citizens have reminded us, that determines whether or not an optimal microclimate has been created for a person so as to prolong life in one's declining years.

Correspondents from this newspaper fulfilled this order of our readers.

"Who hasn't noticed for themselves that with passing years it becomes more and more difficult to change ones accustomed routine. Even a train trip to see friends for a week or two becomes a big deal", N.P. Kruglova from Stavropol wrote to the editorial offices. "It is easy, then, to comprehend the confusion of an older person faced with making a radical change in his or her entire accustomed way of life, should age or circumstances have made it necessary for them to move into a home for the elderly. I have heard that the most difficult days for an older person are the first ones..."

This anxious letter led us to the Norskiy home for the elderly in Yaroslavl. We came to acquaint ourselves with the way that new residents are accepted here, how they are assisted in settling down in their new life. The institution was chosen at random, with the sole "guideline" being numbers. The Norskiy home for the elderly is 30 years old and, consequently, has its own long established traditions, its own ways of operating that have stood the test of time!

And in fact we learned some very interesting things. The home considers the most important event to be the first encounter of the new arrival -- the interview with the doctor. This meeting begins the "entry" into a new life.

This "beginning" is structured according to a precise concept of the psychology of older people. It is obvious that when on the verge of infirmity they or she will be most concerned with matters related to their health. The longer they will be in fairly good health, the longer will be their active lives, their mobility, etc. This being the case it is important for a person, from his first minutes at home for the elderly, to understand who it is from this time forward that will be his or her main assistants. This means becoming acquainted with the doctors of the home, the occupational therapy instructors, the organizers of social life.

At the home the policy is that by the second day at the latest a new arrival should know how his or her life will be structured at the home. At the same time, this is not a matter of "obligations", but rather of choice or, more precisely, of a sensitive selection of those pursuits that are most familiar to the person.

"That is the way it was", remembers Aleksandara Petrovna Novgorodova, who has already been living at the Norskiy Home for the Elderly for five years. "The workshops never had any pursuits that would be for novices. And you know, they searched out and dreamt up new, supplementary activities. Once "they got them," they looked for materials, and found customers for the new types of articles, etc. The home now has 6 workshops and 27 types of labor pursuits.

Decisive importance is attached here to work within one's powers. Meaningful useful activity is the best remedy for loneliness, illness, and feelings of restlessness. This is the secret to the successful resurrection of an active life, broad and varied interests and, consequently, a cheerful mood.

"We direct people on the way to an active life, and do not give them time to be bored or to be depressed," states the chief of the medical unit, S. L. Luney.

This is probably, in fact, exactly what permits the home from the very first days to, as it were, mobilize the psyche of the "newcomer" to take an active attitude to the changes, moreover, changes for the better.

"My former neighbor lives in a home for the elderly. Ocassionally, though I try to do so more frequently, I go to visit her. I have noticed that her vision is getting worse, but that she is receiving neither treatment nor new glasses. I asked only why this was so of the home. And their answer was that "we do not have a specialist in eye care on the staff."

This letter (unfortunately it does not have an address) took us to the outskirts of the city of Irkutsk. Here we had decided to find out how homes for the elderly take care of residents who become ill or who are in need of specialized medical treatment.

For the time being no one had come to the office of the senior doctor of the home, A. H. Pobedin, for a consultation, so we utilized the time to ask our questions.

"It is, of course, very important for we doctors at homes for the elderly", responded A. H. Pobedin, to have well established, ongoing contacts with city polyclinics. We have accomplished something along these lines. Let's take, as an example, Polyclinic Number 6. It is our real assistant. We have set up with them so-called intensive examination for our residents. An oculist, a neuropathologist, a surgeon and other specialists in particular fields hold consultations on a strict schedule on designated days right at the home for the elderly", we were informed by Aleksandr Nikolayevich.

"Of course, there are still many as yet unresolved problems", Pobedin smiles wryly. "The director of Stomatological Polyclinic No 1 of our city has for more than a year promised "for a time" to send to the home a specialist in fitting prostheses. But what is the good of promises if they are not kept? This sort of attitude to the needs of people of advanced age, of participants and invalids from the Great Patriotic War, is clearly contraindicated.

"...I have recently received a letter from a distant relative. She has already been living in a home for the elderly for several years now in the Moscow area. She speaks well of her life, but the tone of the letter is sad. When I read it I worry that she has kept back something..."

We set off with this letter to the Podolskiy rayon of the Moscow area, to the Klimovskiy Home for Senior Citizens.

We enter. Our first impression is that this is a home just like any other. The posters on the walls tell of cooking contests, concerts by guests,

amateur artists, political studies, birthdays, "campfires" -- in short, about everything here that is alive. The reception hall has nice, soft furniture and a television. And there are flowers all over the place, on the floor and on the walls. In the pet's corner there were squirrels and a parrot. We walk into the rooms and they are both double and single, furnished with identical tables, night tables, bureaus, even with identical flowers on the windows.

Nevertheless for some reason it was not comfortable here. We tried to figure out why and to understand why and discovered the answer very soon. People are not all the same, but here the general word that suggests itself when one thinks about the conditions in which they live is the word standard.

They told us that it was not forbidden to have one's own furniture, clothing and even dishes. However, it always turns out that a person inevitably rejects all his own things, with the exception of small items. Why? Certainly because the service personnel are barely able to take care of those things that are set up "according to standard." What would happen if they got involved in individual possessions?

Returning to the impressions from our visit to the home for the elderly in Irkutsk, let us add that we also ran up against the problem of "standards" there too. In that case it was a matter of clothing for the senior citizens. In the work shops at this home, which are run by experienced instructors, residents sew custom ordered dresses, blouses, skirts, robes and other necessities "for our own women". "We could outfit all of our old women with our own labor", says instructor Lyudmila Vasil'evna Khrustaleva. "But we are not supplied with the proper fabric -- satin, cotton print and flannel."

"His Excellency," the standard, made himself known yet again. We ran into him in the Moscow area, in Siberia and also in the central region of Russia -- in all homes for the elderly where grannies and gramps lived. As a rule that is how those who serve them address the senior citizens. Their names, at one time carefully chosen by their parents, and pronounced for so many years with love and tenderness by friends, husbands and children are replaced by something universal and faceless. Through whose indifference has this way of addressing people become not only acceptable, but as if it were natural? Must a person who with the years has lost a professional identity also lose his or her name?...

"If only I could go to the kitchen by myself and cook up some plain buckwheat kasha..." another senior citizen wrote to us in a letter. The "mood" of his letter took us to the Krasnodar Home of Senior Citizens of Labor Veterans.

"We feel as though we are at the table at home", such were the words we read in the book of comments on the work of the cafeteria. We decided, nevertheless, to try for ourselves the food they were feeding the senior citizens. Dumpling soup, flavored with fragrant greens, macroni pro-flotski

with slices of lightly salted cucumber -- all of it was tasty. The menu also contained a choice of two other types of soup and various other main dishes. Our attention was also called to a saucer of vegetable oil on each table (it is well known that this is helpful for older people). It appeared to us that the senior citizens were receiving enough milk products. From a shop nearby they receive sausage products, butter and delicatessen items, and hawkers often appear on the floors of the home with pastry products.

Zoy a Vasil'evna and Petr Prokop'evich Lyul'kin, husband and wife who had just celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary at the home, told us:

"When we are in town we stop at a cafe to have lunch, and naturally compare what we have there to what we get here. And what we get here is always better."

"We try to satisfy all tastes", notes chef-cook Yevgeniya Danilovna Ishchuck. "We are just a little short on vegetables and fruits. We have not yet been able to prepare borshch from fresh cabbage."

Are we in the Kuban here? In Krasnodar cabbage is sold on almost every street corner, yet the senior citizen's home has none? What is going on here? Just this. Store No 12 of the city fruit and vegetable trade organization, which supplies the senior citizen's home with garden produce, delivers very little of this and what it does deliver comes irregularly. The store also supplies vegetables to many other public catering establishments and there is frequently nothing left for the senior citizen's home.

The home has its own garden that constantly keeps the tables supplied with parsley, onions and other greens. Currently tomatoes, cucumbers, and summer squash are ripening there, but they won't be ready any time soon. In the meantime, the supplier should not forget the way to the senior citizens home.

Attentiveness and lack of attentiveness to the needs of those whose home has become a home for the elderly was the focus of our thoughts when we were summarizing the results of what we saw. In the Klimovskiy home in the Moscow area we were told "You have to understand that we receive good produce, but it is often prepared without inspiration..." But, on the other hand, in the Irkutsk home we found out about an amateur "design buro" created by doctor A. N. Pobedin and the deputy director, L.I. Rozhkov. They devised and made up a mobile washroom and toilet to compensate for the lack of personnel to take care of the residents who are bedridden.

It turned out that ways can be thought of, sought out and found to make life interesting for older people, no matter what home they live in. And there ought not be any other attitude.

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NATIONAL

SYMPOSIUM ON IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR: SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 2, July 1984 (signed to press 4 July) carries on pages 94-95 a 375-word article on the International Scientific Symposium that met in Kishinev in September 1983 to discuss "the national languages in the development of socialist society." The symposium, which was organized by the Department of Literature and Languages of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet of Science on the complex problem of the "conformity of the development of national languages in connection with the development of socialist nations" and also by the Institute of Language and Literature of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, was attended by scholars from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

The development of Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Armenian, Georgian, Moldavian, and other languages of the USSR was analyzed at the symposium.

Particular attention was paid to the report by Yan Pyotr, the director of the Institute of Czech language of the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences and the coordinator of an internationally coordinated special program to look at the question of "the national languages in the developing socialist society."

In summary, Yan Pyotr noted that, "our country has taken the complex path of the development of national languages. Under socialism, 48 writing systems have been created for those lesser nationalities who didn't have them before. In the union and autonomous republics and oblasts, instruction in the higher and middle schools are being conducted in the ethnic language, books by local authors are written in it, newspapers and journals are published in it, and films and shows are being presented in it. All of this, in full measure, refutes the fallacious assertions of bourgeois propaganda about the Russification of the lesser nationalities and peoples in the USSR."

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REGIONAL

CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY AT NEW TALLINN PORT CONTINUES

Construction Details Outlined

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by A. Ponomarenko, Director of the New Tallinn port under construction: "At the Decisive Stage"]

[Text] At the end of 1986 all of the installations under construction at the New Tallinn port are scheduled to receive and process the first cargo shipments. There remain two and a half years until that starting date. Is that a lot of time or little time? It is a lot if one considers that only one half of the time has passed, but it is little if one judges by the amount of completed work. Only 10 percent of the total work is finished. What is the reason for this? The construction-installation plans are being fulfilled continuously, and it seems there have been no slow-downs, but in comparison to what has yet to be done ahead, only a small part of the work is done.

The fact of the matter is that the main portion of the operations to be completed in the construction of the loading complexes will be undertaken by foreign firms with which a contract was signed last December. They are now completing the planning operations and preparations for the construction site. Literally at the present time the Finnish builders are undertaking the main operations -- the construction of the grain and refrigerator complexes. One must say that this is no simple task. Much will depend on the coordinated efforts of the construction participants and on the precise fulfillment of obligations taken on by both signatories of the contract. In the opinion of the management of the foreign firms and the construction administration, the preparatory period is proceeding successfully.

Our builders have carried out quite a few labor-intensive operations. The area for the grain complex, the shops and truck garage, the complex for perishable goods, the site for the computer center and services for the future port have been developed in a timely fashion. Construction of railroad accesses to the port is being completed. At the beginning of May the new port received the first vessels with material and equipment from Finland.

However, important tasks lie ahead of the contractors, primarily SU-423. A number of operations have yet to be completed in preparation for the basic

construction of the perishable goods complex and the grain pier. This requires the packing of over a million cubic meters of soil, preferably course-grain sand, on the construction site. The Ministry of the Navy had previously agreed with the USSR Ministry of the Fishing Industry to obtain such sand in the Tallinn Bay. However, there was no sand found in the places where it was removed by the Eastern Baltic Fish Breeding Administration for bottom drilling operations. The builders were able to get only a small amount of the sand last year in the Prangl Islands region. This made it possible to undertake operations in the spring of this year. Now the "sand problem" is less acute. Sand can be taken from a few bottom sections of the Finnish Bay, but only with the permission of the Eastern Baltic Fish Breeding Administration, the Geology Board of the ESSR Council of Ministers, and the State Committee for Supervision of Industrial Safety and Mining Inspection. The builders are relying on mutual understanding and assistance from their part, and hope that this problem will be resolved.

The success of the work in progress will also depend on how efficiently the ESSR Ministry of Automobile Transportation and Highways and the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry can guarantee the delivery of inert materials and cement from the republic's enterprises.

Our contractual organizations are working simultaneously along with the construction of the port installations by the foreign firms. In the main, they have successfully met the goals of the past five months. Thus, the capital investment plan for this period has been fulfilled by 102 percent and the construction-installation plan has been fulfilled by 112 percent of the originally planned level. Altogether, since the beginning of construction, over 3.5 million cubic meters of soil have been laid in the construction site, and high-voltage line with five transformer substations have been installed. About two kilometers of extra-site aquaduct and sewage line have been installed.

And still, inspite of the plan's fulfillment as a whole, the construction of a mooring line for the refrigerator complex and the mooring line for mineral-construction materials and communication equipment is behind schedule. Two mooring lines -- the naval port and that of the Ministry of Construction Goods were supposed to be put into operation this year along with cleaning installations, housing and public utility facilities, but, as before, construction is being hampered by shortcomings in machinery, vehicle transportation, and manual labor.

Until now the planning organizations have not resolved the problem of balancing the volume of construction work at the New Tallinn port with the essential jobs required for putting the reloading complexes into operation in 1986. Consequently, the contract organizations have agreed to a 1985 level of work that is significantly lower than what is actually required. For example, the Baltmorgidrostroy [Baltic Sea Hydraulic Construction] trust agreed to ask for only 7.2 million rubles out of the 15 million rubles that are needed (in comparison, the 1984 plan called for 11.4 million rubles). We get the same picture in the case of the ESSR Ministry of Construction.

Only 6.1 million rubles of the proposed 11 million rubles has been appropriated. This will provide for opening only 16,000 square meters of housing for the New Tallinn port instead of the 24,000 as called for by the minutes of the Interdepartmental Commission.

There is one more alarming problem for which we see no solution as yet. If the construction of the water conduit and sewage mains for the port is considered to be proceeding satisfactorily (that work is being carried out by the Trust of the Administration for the Mechanization of Specialized and Installation Operations of the ESSR Ministry of Construction), then the construction of the main heating line has literally "been hanging in mid-air." In fact, who is supposed to take on that job? Organizations of the USSR Ministry of Construction were commissioned to undertake the laying of the heating networks. However, the republic's Ministry of Construction keeps referring to the lack of essential machinery and for one and half years now has not been able to reach an accord to complete that work. And it persistently points out that the job should be undertaken by the Ministry of Energy. But the Ministry of Energy, after having closed its specialized administration which earlier existed in Tallinn, now presents its own conditions: It demands funds for developing its base, housing provisions for its workers whose proposed number would be incommensurable with the volume of work to be done.

The Ministry of Navy has taken upon itself the obligation to appropriate funds ahead of schedule, with each year of construction, for the development of the base for the Mechanization Trust. Of course, the funds appropriated will depend on the amount of completed jobs. Moreover, those funds are also intended for the heating network operations. Consequently, there is every reason to believe that these jobs will be fulfilled by the ESSR Ministry of Construction. And while these "hide-and-seek games" are being played, precious time is being lost. And it is quite possible that it will be impossible to supply heat to the port by the time the complexes are ready to go into operation. This is well understood by the workers at the Stroymekhanizatsiya Trust, but surprisingly, they cannot get support from the ESSR Ministry of Construction.

Successful construction progress first of all depends on the coordinated activity of the subcontractor organizations. This is a generally accepted truth, but it is not always followed. Therefore, one would like to call attention to the necessity of closer contact between the general contractor -- SU-423 -- and the subcontractors. The latter is clearly showing insufficient concern about their living and working conditions at the construction site, and they do not always get their work assignments in a timely fashion. This is indicated by the fact the general contractor does not fully realize the importance and priority of the tasks that confront him. By the way, for the sake of objectivity, one should say that the general contractor, SU-423, is in need of help from his superior organization -- the Baltic Sea Hydraulic Construction Trust. One already senses that the construction site lacks a coordinating center that could resolve problems without restricting itself to departmental interests. This is particularly

evident at the weekly operational conferences held by the general contractor in which the concerns of the subcontractor organizations are put on the back burner. We are therefore led to the conclusion that in spite of the significantly raised volume of work undertaken, the level of construction management remains low.

The machinery and apparatus of the SU-423 general contractor's administration are insufficient for the successful completion of the responsible tasks which have been exclusively entrusted with him. Administration director A. Ivanov spoke about this as early as April at a "round table" meeting at the editorial offices of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA. However, the Ministry of Transportation, as the principal general contractor, did not take effective measures to increase the production machinery of SU-423. There is an urgent need to create an operational group to manage the port's construction. That group, empowered with broad authority and headed by a person no lower than the deputy director of a trust, would take upon itself the coordination of work done by the subcontractor organizations.

#### Transportation Problems Solved

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 Jul 84 p 2

[Article: "New Tallinn Port: Construction Picks Up Speed"]

[Text] This was the caption to a report of "round table" meeting that was published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA on April 24. The following was received by the editors from Minister of Automobile Transportation and Highways of the ESSR G. Kruger in response to critical remarks.

"The tasks assigned for 1983 to the ESSR Ministry of Automobile Transportation and Highways with respect to freight traffic for the New Tallin port have been completely fulfilled. A total automobile transportation usage of 350,000 tons has been allocated to the organizations of the ESSR Ministry of Transportation Construction for 1984. The fulfillment of that plan is being realized in accordance with shipment agreements (which was fulfilled by 102 percent in the first five months of the year). Involved along with the Tallinn organizations in shipping is the Narvskaya Automobile Base No 13. The Tallinavtotrans [Tallinn Automobile Transportation] Association is providing for the centralized movement of trucks from facilities of the Ministry of Industrial Construction Materials to the New Tallinn port, as needed.

At the same time, it is essential to note that general use auto transportation does not have available reserve machinery for freight traffic. In connection with the construction of the New Tallinn port, a production base for truck operations in Tallinn and Maardu is supposed to be developed, but capital investment funds for this purpose have not been allocated.

The ESSR Ministry of Automobile Transportation and Highways is expanding the Tallinn bus pool which will provide for passenger transportation to the

New Tallinn port. The USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet will transfer two million rubles to the ESSR Ministry of Automobile Transportation and Highways for this purpose. For the period 1983-1984, 450,000 rubles have been transferred.

Workers from Tallinn are presently being transported to the construction site on specially allocated busses. Later on, the question of arranging a regular bus route will be examined subsequently together with the ispolkom of the SND [expansion unknown] of the city of Tallinn.

#### Housing and Services Discussed

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 13 Jun 84 p 3

[Article: "Lasnamae--Comprehensive Construction in Progress"]

[Text] On June 12 the Tallinn gorkom of the Estonian CP held a scientific-practical conference "On the Comprehensive Construction of Lasnamyae Housing Region." The conference was opened by member candidate of the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro, First Secretary of the Tallinn Party gorkom M. Pedak. A report was presented by First Deputy Chairman of the city Council of People's Deputies N. Ivanov.

Work on the comprehensive construction of a new housing region at Läsnämae was evaluated. Elementary school and children's pre-school institutions have been erected along with the intensive housing construction. Problems of shopping and public domestic services in the first micro-regions have been basically resolved. A polyclinic, store, and athletic school are being built in the third micro-region. The construction of store in the fourth micro-region will begin this year.

At the same time, the organization of the complex construction of new housing regions still does not fully satisfy the growing requirements. Now and then the Lasnamyae inhabitants present justifiable complaints to the medical, trade and domestic service organizations, and the installation of a telephone network is lagging behind schedule.

In the future improvements will have to be made in the quality of planning, designing, and construction of social infrastructure facilities.

Participating in the work of the scientific-practical conference were the ESSR Minister of Housing and Public Utilities Management V. Eks, Board Chairman of the ESSR Union of Architects V. Kherkel', and others.

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REGIONAL

## ESTONIAN FILM CHAIRMAN RESPONDS TO OFFICIAL CRITICISM

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Jul 84 p 3

[Interview with Raymund Penu, chairman of the ESSR State Committee for Cinematography by E. Kekelidze; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] The topic of discussion between Chairman of the ESSR Goskino and our correspondent E. Kekelidze is the recently adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Raising Further the Ideological-Political Level of Motion Pictures and Strengthening the Material-Technical Base of Cinematography."

[Question] Raymund Aleksandrovich, the recent All-Union conference of motion picture workers confirmed the principle and importance of the adopted decree.

[Answer] The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on motion pictures entails a large number of suggestions and desires expressed in recent years by creative figures and organizers of the industry. We have received an exceptionally important Party-Government document--a long-term program for the development of Soviet motion pictures at a new stage. That document for the first time thoroughly examines the ideological-creative and material-technical problems that interact in the process of making and renting out films. New tasks are defined for further improving the ideological and artistic level of films, and new ways are slated for providing the appropriate material-technical conditions required for their growth.

The current Estonian motion picture situation is complex. Whether we want to recognize it or not, a change in generations is being felt. Recognized masters such as Kal'ye Kiysk, Leyda Layus, and Arvo Kruuzement are making feature films. Semen Shkol'nikov, Andres Seyet, Mark Soosar, Peep Puks, Yuri Myuyur, and Reyn Maran are working in documentaries, and Reyn Raamat, Kheyno Pars, and Avo Paystik are making animated cartoons... Working along with them are young producers who have not yet fully matured. Such persons working in light films include P. Simm, O. Neuland, V. Kuyk, and P. Urbla...

They have started working only recently, but they have the full potential of becoming good professional producers. It is necessary that they make films which raise current problems that are of concern to the people and that reflect the various aspects of a Soviet person's life.

I am placing emphasis on contemporary themes here, but this does not mean that we do not have other responsibilities to our viewers. We do have them. The revolutionary-historical theme is strongly reflected in "The Price of Death...", but this theme was not continued in essence. At the present time the Tallinfilm Studio is working on a film to commemorate the 100th birthday of the remarkable V. Kingisepp. The patriotic war theme has been sounded in Estonian films and it will be sounded. K. Kiysk is currently preparing to shoot the film "I Fell in the First Summer of the War," based on a book of long-standing recognition by Yu. Peegel'. But there is another aspect here. A new generation is now coming into the arts that has not experienced the war. A thought was expressed at the All-Union conference that along with the films that have become prized possessions of the Soviet film industry that have shed light on sources of mass heroism and patriotism of the Soviet people with enormous artistic force, there are works in which the dramatic and tragic pages predominate over demonstrations of heroism. One should not forget the cause for which our nation fought in the Great Patriotic War. It would seem that this kind of thinking was the reason for the failure of the O. Neuland's film "Requiem"--a film in which the primary thrust was the tragedy of a personal fate which pushed into the background, so to speak, the war idea.

If one looks at the recent Estonian film productions in the light of the decree, it becomes clear that too often our films are either artistically weak or have themes whose importance has not been given primary consideration. This seems to us to be our biggest trouble.

The "social order" concept must be given back its fundamental meaning--the requirement of the times. And here is where the role of script writer and editor grows.

[Question] But there are no professional script writers in the republic.

[Answer] No. And I am not sure that there ought to be any or that they must be specially trained. Today, it is much more important for us to train editors. The question of script writing and editing is not just our trouble spot. It is Union-wide problem.

We see a way out of this problem by strengthening the role of the script writing board. Such a board would represent the state's interests by determining the importance of the theme and by seeking a script writer and consultants for the theme. The problem of a film's competence is also a matter of no small importance. As a central figure, the editor would consolidate the efforts of many persons in the writing of the script.

In the light of the latest decree, we are called upon to compose and plan the studios in a different fashion. The state's interests must stand paramount,

and in composing our plan we must take into account the requirement of the social order--the civic nature of our position, the contemporaneity of thought, the boldness of the tasks set forth...

[Question] This is a long-term task. But what can be directly undertaken now?

[Answer] We should revive a good tradition--cooperation with the country's best studios. Indeed, the first steps have already been taken. German Klimov is writing fragments for Yu. Peegel's scripts. Leyda Laydus is working together with the Leningrad script writer Sheptunova on a script based on S. Rannamaa's book "Frames."

By the way, this is the latest picture directed towards teenagers who in no way have been provided with "bread and butter films." Whereas the country's studios have produced such brilliant films as "Patsany" [?], [Look Back!], "Found Guilty," "Manly Education," and others, Tallinfilm has as yet "spun off" only fairy tales which, incidentally, are also needed. I should like to cite the following example: P. Simm's picture "Arabella, the Pirate's Daughter" has been playing well throughout the country and has encountered considerable criticism both in the republic and the Union. But the viewers go to see the picture with pleasure. This is surely an indication of the shortage of such stories that are so essential to the child's heart! We hope that L. Laydus' work will correct that situation.

Incidentally, the data of a special study show that the basic component of movie-goers in Estonia is made of young people aged 17 to 24. To ignore that fact would mean consciously working without full responsibility.

[Question] Does the decree also give attention to providing the public with motion picture theaters?

[Answer] The showing of films comprises yet another cycle of problems. Although Estonia has fulfilled the plan for movie house attendance and other parameters, it has the country's worst conditions for showing films. On the average there are 40 movie house seats for every 1000 persons throughout the Union. Our republic has only about 20. Our own particular situation plays a role here. About two-thirds of our population lives in the cities, and it has been in the cities where the construction of movie theaters has been neglected over the years. In 1973 the Ekha movie theater was opened in Tallinn, in 1976 a movie theater in Rakver, and in 1983 a theater in Pyltsamaa were opened to the public. That is all. And in the countryside many clubs that show films also are in need of repairs.

We have worked out a three-year plan to repair the existing theater network. The plan proposes to put into service the presently operating Pirita theater in Tallinn, theaters in Keyla, Kokhtla-Yarve, etc. This year we are beginning to build movie theaters in Pyarnu and Elva, and later the Lasnamye theater in Tallinn and Tapa. We are also examining the possible construction of movie houses in Payde and Rapla.

[Question] The work of the Tallinfilm studio was a topic of discussion at the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro.

[Answer] All of the steps that we have already taken as well as those that will be implemented in accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers are simultaneously a fulfillment of the decision of the Buro of the Estonian CP Central Committee.

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REGIONAL

ESTONIAN EDITORIAL REBUTS CPSU DECISION ON PARTY SHORTCOMINGS

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 3 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "The Most Important Duty of an Executive"; Cross-reference: DAILY REPORT, SOVIET UNION, USSR national Affairs, Political and Social Developments, 1 Aug 84, p R 1]

[Text] The forming of the new person is at the center of the Leninist Party's attention. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress concisely defined the basic directions of ideological work and ways of improving its effectiveness -- the employment of a comprehensive approach toward formulating the entire matter of upbringing people. All of the ideological, political-educational work is designed to facilitate the resolution of the vital tasks set forth by the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. A most important role in intensifying the impact of ideological work on life belongs to the supervisory Party, soviet, trade union, and managerial personnel. This was once again forcefully underscored in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Participation of Supervisory Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political-Educational Work Among the Workers," which the republic's communists have adopted as their urgent program of action. This is a document of overall Party importance.

The decree notes that the Estonian CP Central Committee, the Party committees, and the primary Party organizations, in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, the June (1983), the February and April (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the directives of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade K. U. Chernenko, have intensified their attention on ideological and political-educational activity. The republic's Party organization has been conducting single-minded counter-propaganda and is refuting the ideological subversion of foreign television and radio, reactionary emigres, and clerical centers.

The Party committees and primary Party organizations, broadly guided by the supervisory personnel in their ideological-political work among the workers, are increasing their responsibility for the political-moral state of the labor collectives. This is making it possible to ensure an increasingly closer unity between ideological, administrative, and managerial activity.

The republic's Party committees are constantly concerned about the improvement of the qualitative composition of supervisory personnel. Thus, 80 percent of the Party personnel presently have a higher education, and most of them are specialists in various sectors of the national economy. The skilled level of supervisory personnel in the ministries, departments, and local soviets has been raised significantly. The following is a noteworthy example of that fact: All of the sovkhoz directors and 92 percent of the kolkhoz chairmen have a specialized higher and secondary education. The Party committees are placing higher demands upon supervisory personnel for the upbringing of people. These questions are regularly reviewed and discussed in Party committees and primary Party organizations.

The overwhelming majority of supervisory personnel in the republic are politically mature, profoundly competent persons, and genuine administrators and trainers of labor collectives. The form of their participation in political-educational work is diversified. This includes appearances at press conferences, in the press, television, and radio. They participate in the conduct of unified political days, social-political lectures, and open letter days. Thus, in the course of a single political day, there are on the average more than 10,000 addresses that are attended by approximately one half of the republic's urban and rural workers. Moreover, most of the addresses made on political days take place at enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. And recently, supervisors have been meeting more often with people directly in brigades, links, sectors, and farms. In a word, the role and significance of political days in the organization and training of collectives and in the resolution of vital industrial and social problems is considerable.

An ever-increasing part in political-educational work is being taken by managerial personnel. Their numbers have increased among propagandists, reporting speakers, and lecturers. Many of them head agitator collectives, councils on economic education, people's universities, and are members of ideological commissions. Included among the members of the Znaniye [Knowledge] Society are 324 supervisors of enterprises and construction sites and 270 sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen. And over 400 supervisory personnel are participating in the activity of people's universities.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee points out that the political-educational work of supervisory personnel is facilitating the development of the workers' industrial and public activity and the resolution of socio-economic problems that confront the republic. In most of the collectives, discipline has been strengthened, lost worker time and personnel turnover has been reduced. In three years of the Five-Year Plan, the volume of industrial production has increased by 8.2 percent which exceeds by one percent the Five-Year Plan assignments. During this same period, the sale of products has exceeded the plan by 290 million rubles. The rural and urban workers are confidently carrying the designated frontiers to the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan. Within a half-year's period the industrial workers have exceeded the assigned level of product sales by more than 50 million rubles.

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes have significantly exceeded the planned second quarter level of livestock sales to the government. Also noteworthy is the fact that the rate of national income growth is exceeding the Five-Year Plan assignments.

At the same time, the decree of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that there are shortcomings and omissions in the activity of Party organizations and supervisory personnel with respect to the ideological-political training of workers. The Party organizations have not yet reached the point where each supervisor not only is skillfully organizing the labor and everyday life of people, but is also actively participating in political work which he should consider to be his direct obligation. Supervisors are still not addressing young audiences or appearing at trade, public catering, domestic services, and public health collectives or at residential sites. Far too often those addresses fail to provoke lively responses or inspire people to work at an urgent pace and to overcome difficulties because those speeches lack specificity, conviction, and political acuity. The educational effect of socialist competition, the brigade form of organization and labor incentives are underestimated.

One of the indicators of a supervisor's ideological dedication and communist morality is his persistent, purposeful struggle for the successful fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges. Unfortunately, not all supervisors exhibit this high-level responsibility. This is indicated, for example, by the fact that during the first half of the year, every eighth enterprise of the republic has not satisfied its product delivery agreements, and the assignments for economizing on raw resources and materials are not being fulfilled. Lagging in the procurement of meat and milk has been allowed to take place since the beginning of the Five-Year Plan. The development of subsidiary farms has been extremely slow.

The CPSU Central Committee has obligated the Party Committees and the primary Party organizations to eliminate the identified shortcomings. All of the administrative and political activity of the supervisory personnel must fully satisfy the tasks of completing advanced socialism. It is important that the Leninist style and tradition of daily political work within the masses become an internal requirement of supervisors at all levels. A supervisor exerts a great influence on people by his personal example. He must educate people not only by his word, but by his deed -- by a concise organization of labor, by a specific concern about people, by his own degree of discipline, and by his own moral make-up. For surely, trustworthy, sincere relationships between a supervisor and his subordinates can come about only when they see in him a model of business-like earnestness, Party principles, honesty, and orderliness.

The decree points out that personnel policy must persistently implement Party directions by combining trust with exactingness, and by developing criticism and self-criticism. Supervisory work must not be done by people who are without initiative, without discipline and who are inclined, in the words of V. I. Lenin, "to substitute discussion for deeds, and conversation for work."

The most important task of the republic's Party organizations is to strengthen the class upbringing of the workers. It is essential to explain profoundly and clearly the economic and social policy of the Party, and to disclose by clear examples the advantages of the Soviet way of life, and to demonstrate convincingly the heights that have been achieved by the workers of Estonia in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples. And they are truly enormous. Suffice to say that during the years of Soviet rule, industrial production has grown by 52 times, and the gross agricultural production has doubled. Science and culture have flourished.

It is also necessary to improve further the upbringing of workers in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. With these purposes in mind, the Party organizations and the supervisory personnel should utilize more broadly the preparations for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory and the 40th anniversary of Estonia's liberation from the German-fascist invaders. They should also make use of the strengthening friendly bonds between the cities, rayons, enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes and the worker collectives of the Russian Federation and other fraternal republics.

The specific conditions and characteristics of the various population groups must be taken into consideration in the conduct of agitation-propaganda work. The ideological, labor, and moral training of young people as well as their militant-patriotic training must be a subject of particular concern to the Party organizations and supervisory personnel. One must also intensify the struggle against hooliganism, drunkenness, embezzlement of socialist property, money-grubbing, and other violations of the law.

The supervisor has an exceptionally large role in the implementation of the Law on Worker Collectives, and the further development of socialist democracy. Life shows us that if a supervisor is supported by public organizations, values the opinions of the working man, learns from people, and responds to criticism in a business-like manner, he will be rewarded by success, and the initiative of the masses will abound. This is why the Party organization must constantly see to it that each supervisor correctly utilizes the great force of the Law on Worker Collectives.

The significance that good ideological-theoretical training of supervisory personnel has for the subsequent perfection of political-educational work is obvious. Therefore, the Party organizations are called upon to manifest great concern about the formation of a high level of political development in all supervisors, to develop a new type of economic thinking, and to encourage them to assimilate the experience gained in other Union republics in the matter of managerial and educational work.

The duty of the Party committees, the primary Party organizations, and the supervisory personnel of the republic is to utilize skillfully the rich arsenal of means, forms, and methods of organizational and ideological work for mobilizing the worker collectives to a universal intensification of production, an acceleration of scientific-technical progress, to the

realization of the Food and Energy programs, and the early fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan assignments. Greater attention must be given to all questions pertaining to an all-encompassing improvement in the life of the Soviet person.

A further increase in the role played by supervisory personnel in political-educational work among workers is an indispensable condition for achieving new successes in building communism.

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INFORMATION REPORT ON ESTONIAN REPUBLIC AKTIV MEETING

Tallinn MOLODEZH' ESTONII in Russian 4 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] A meeting of the republic Party aktiv was held in Tallin on August 3. Participating in the meeting were members and candidate members of the Estonian CP Central Committee, members of the Estonian CP auditing commission, first secretaries of the Party gorkoms and raykoms, chairmen of the urban and rayon soviet ispolkoms, directors of ministries and departments outside the Estonian CP Central Committee, chairmen of the republic trade union committees, chairmen of the urban and rayon People's Control Committees, the first secretaries of the urban and rayon Komsomol committees, chiefs of staffs of the urban and rayon voluntary people's brigades, chairmen of the commissions for nimors, directors of the law protection organs, a group of directors of industrial enterprises, transportation and construction organizations, and facilities, secretaries of primary and Party organizations, responsible officials of the Estonian CP Central Committee apparatus, the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, the ESSR Council of Ministers, the republic People's Control Committee, the ESSR Trade Union Council, the Central Committee of the Estonian Komsomol, the press, television, and radio.

The Party aktiv meeting was opened by member of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee K. Vayno.

Second Secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee A. Kudryavstev presented a paper "On Raising the Role of Party, Soviet, Law Protection Organs and Public Organizations in Strengthening Public Law and Order in the Republic."

Speakers during discussions of the paper were Second Secretary of the Tallin Party gorkom P. Panfilov, member of the Estonian CP Central Committee and chairman of the Kokhtla-Yarves gorispolkom R. Shermeteta, chairman of the trade union committee at the Dvigatel' plant and commander of the plant's People's Voluntary Brigade V. Koshlyayev, member of the Estonian CP Central Committee, ESSR Minister of Internal Affairs M. Tibar, Sector Inspector of the Internal Affairs Department of the Khar'yus rayon ispolkomm A. Reyntman, Procurator of the Vil'yandis Rayon Kh. Kyutt, and Second Secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee L. Savvin.

Speeches at the meeting were made by comrade K. Vayno and USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V. Dedorchuk.

A resolution was adopted on the question under discussion.

Participating in the work of the meeting were comrades N. Ganyushov, V. Kyo, L. Lentsman, O. Merimaa, R. Ristlaan, N. Yuganson, I. Tooome as well as section chief of the CPSU Central Committee V. Sidorov.

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VAYNO ADDRESS TO AKTIV MEETING

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] "Today's meeting of the aktiv is taking place in a business-like and critical setting and our talks will be frank, principled, and cover a broad range of topics. We have discussed an important question which stems in a most direct way from the decree of the CPSU Central Committee just published in the press "On the Participation of Supervisory Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political-Educational Work Among Workers." This is a document of fundamental importance for all of us which will for a long time serve as a guide in practical affairs. The decree will help us evaluate critically work in progress, point out existing shortcomings in the educational process and suggest ways of overcoming them. That document defines tasks not only for party organizations, but also for ministries and departments, soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations. In a word, a great deal of work confronts all of us.

One of the most acute problems in the republic is the strengthening of law and public order.

The report presented today by comrade Kudryavtsev and the statements made by participants in our meeting offered a thorough analysis of the situation, revealed our weak points, and introduced quite a few sensible suggestions. This indicates that we envision our tasks properly and recognize well the complexity of the question under discussion. Now the main thing for us is to get down to work. A conference per se is still not action, but only a prerequisite to sensible action. Today we have defined what needs to be done, we have set down our tasks, and have outlined the ways in which to achieve them. But, lest our readiness to work better and more effectively remains merely a noble impulse, it must be translated into practical deeds. This is what is more important, and yes, what is more difficult.

Let us be frank: We have held previous conferences and adopted quite a few proper decisions with respect to controlling crime. And something of the sort was done following those events. But the situation is still far from ideal. This means that to a large degree we are still running in neutral. If we are not getting the desired results and our work is not bearing fruit, then it must be restructured. And it must be restructured in a most fundamental fashion.

We must recognize with self criticism that we have not yet created the required atmosphere of irreconcilability with and effective condemnation of various kinds of violations that often lead to crimes. Crime prevention procedures have been poorly organized. Surely, many of those crimes could have been prevented if law protection measures had been worked out in the proper manner and if the public had been active in this regard.

The best means of human upbringing has been and still remains the performance of socially useful work. Unfortunately, we are doing little in this direction. The Interior Affairs departments do not have a complete picture of citizens who are not working anywhere. And those persons in that category who are accounted for are shown a strange degree of leniency. And surely, inveterate loafers are not going to be set straight by paper work and all kinds of written instructions.

In principle, the identification and punishment of spongers is still not enough. One must be concerned simultaneously about arranging work for those who are obliged to work.

We need a concise system of control and well coordinated action by the militia, the procurator's office, and the entire public so that there cannot be among us people who are not working anywhere for months at a time.

We know that drunkenness is the cause of many crimes. Quite a bit has been said about that today, and with justifiable alarm.

We must make a Party assessment of the situation at hand. Party organizations and all persons of sound mind must be enlisted in the struggle against drunkenness.

Of course, not everyone should be put into the same pattern. There are, so it is said, hopeless drunkards. There are not that many of them and all of them are known to us. Those persons must be dealt with by the application of the most severe measures of administrative action, right up to the point of forced treatment. In such cases no inducements of any kind will be of help. Help must be given to those who are wavering towards drinking bouts. They must be helped to avoid this dangerous habit. This pertains particularly to young people who often are not aware of what the abuse of alcohol can lead to.

Drunkenness must be countered by cultural leisure time and the spending of days-off in useful ways. A concise program of activities and the instillation and organization of cultural leisure time should be undertaken in each city and rayon and at each enterprise. And, if you like, this would also have a considerable economic benefit.

In the struggle against drunkenness the law enforcement organs must apply more strictly to drunkards and violators of social order all of the measures as provided by law. Thus, last year no monetary fine was actually collected from every fifth or sixth person who was fined for drunkenness. And the public in general has not considered a significant portion of the materials spent on drunkards.

What we lack is inevitable punishment for any violation of public order. And not only in regard to drunkards. The same applies to hooligans and all kinds of small-time plunderers. It is clear that the militia alone can not handle the situation. The key to our success in this matter lies in the participation of the broad masses of the population and the people's civic activity. But these masses must be organized and engaged in the struggle for exemplary public order.

It seems to me that the aggressive battle slogan that was very popular among the Komsomols in the 60's: "Let the earth burn under the feet of hooligans", has somehow been imperceptibly lost in recent years. Unfortunately, that earth more often than not does not burn....

How often can we see on the evening streets of our cities groups of youngsters idly roaming about, conducting themselves in a provocative manner, literally looking for a fight. They have their own leaders, their senior members, and their distorted ideas about honor and orderliness. Moreover, they assert their manners and habits in the open, in the presence of those around them. From such a gregarious empty passing of time it is very easy to lay the path that leads to misdemeanors for which it will later become necessary to pay with years of one's life.

Who must stop these youngsters from starting on a dangerous road and prevent them from ruining their lives? This would probably be done easiest of all by their peers, members of operational Komsomol detachments, and Komsomol activists. What is required here is individual work and compassion for teenagers who are slipping into hooliganism. What is needed is a desire to find serious work for them and something for which they can develop genuine enthusiasm. Without this, all of our efforts will not produce the desired effect.

The teenage years are a hazardous period. We know that most of the persons who have committed several crimes committed their first offense while they were still minors. Yesterday we fell short of our targets, and today we are reaping the fruits of that shortcoming. If we fall short of our goals today we shall pay for it tomorrow.

One cannot say, of course, that we are doing nothing to keep teenagers busy. Many schools and residential administrations can be cited as examples of work that is being done. But as a whole, you must agree that the problem is an acute one. That problem is exacerbated under the present conditions by the fact that because of the large number of divorces, we have an excessively large proportion of incomplete families. More than one half of the convicted teenagers were living outside the family or with one of the parents at the time the crime was committed. Just imagine how important it is for these youngsters to have the concerned assistance of adults and the Komsomol. But it is just this element that is missing when it is needed most.

In the presence of the enormous army of personnel in education, culture, athletics, the militia, people's brigades, and the student Komsomol, all of the unhappy, "difficult" youngsters, could, as one says, be taken in hand and protected against harmful influences. However, we do not yet have this kind of all-encompassing measure. But we must have such action. Otherwise, all of our appeals for intensifying the struggle against crime will remain nothing but slogans.

The work which confronts us is not a campaign. Nothing will be accomplished by bursts of action and one-time efforts. What is needed are consistency and constant efforts. We believe that the Party raykoms and gorkoms, the rayand gorispolkoms must be thoroughly knowledgeable about the operational situation in their territory and be able to manage it skillfully. In order to do this, it is first all necessary for the Party committees and ispolkoms to examine constantly problems in the struggle against crime. Whether this form of work is done at the buro or secretariat level is not that important. What is important is that the problems are examined without fail and that appropriate decisions are undertaken.

Comrades, we must thoroughly understand the main point here: If the subordinate-level Party links and our primary Party organizations are not enlisted in the struggle against infringements of the law and if the gorkoms and raykoms of the Party are not constantly engaged in this effort, then there can be no hope for success.

We have much serious work ahead of us. we must tackle that work with full responsibility. We ourselves must work by exerting our full efforts as is required, and demand that everyone, the militia, the procurator's office, the courts, public organizations, and management supervisors, in a word, all of our educational institutes, also work in the same manner. The situation can be changed only in this way, by total coordinated efforts."

In conclusion, comrade K. Vayno expressed his confidence in the ability of the republic's party organization to resolve its important tasks in securing socialist public order, after having adopted for guidance and execution, the CPSU Central Committee's decree "On the Participation of Supervisory Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political-Educational Work Among Workers." He also was confident that the republic's party organization would facilitate the strengthening of the Soviet way of life and will have a positive effect on the economic and social development of the republic.

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DEATH SENTENCE FOR MURDERER IN GEORGIA

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 4 August carries on page 4 a 1,200-word article relaying the details of a recent execution. Dmitrii Khurtsilav was condemned to death by the Supreme Court of the Abkhaz ASSR for shooting and killing one man, and seriously wounding two others while the three were returning home from an evening with friends. Taking umbrage at insults to his driving (the men met while driving in opposite directions on a country road), Khurtsilav killed one passenger and left the scene after he believed he had killed another; the third managed to drive to the next town and alert the police. While still in hiding from the MVD, Khurtsilav intimidated one of the survivors into signing statements to the investigative organs that he was not the killer. Those who helped him to evade the law were given sentences ranging from 2 to 5 years' deprivation of freedom.

GEORGIAN OFFICIALS REPRIMANDED FOR NEGLIGENCE

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 15 August carries on page 1 a 1,300-word article stating that the Georgian CPCC has called to accounts several officials in charge of various sectors of animal-feed production. "The Georgian CPCC considers as completely unsatisfactory the work of the party, council, and agricultural organs, the leaders and secretaries of the primary party organizations of individual regions...of the Tsiteltskaroy and Signakhskiy Rayons." Five mid-level officials were reprimanded, one was relieved of his responsibilities and three others were singled out for criticism.

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